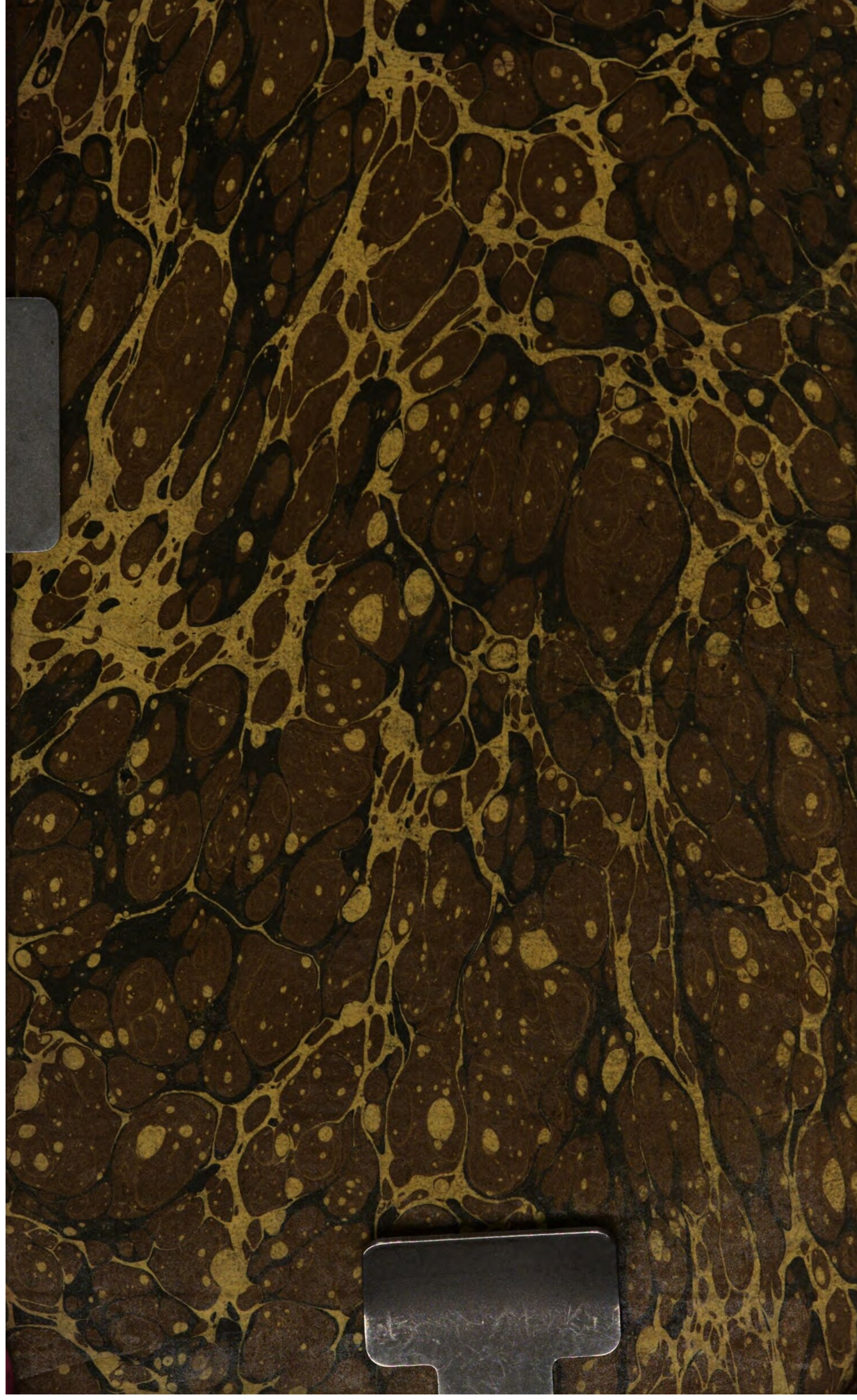


















f. 11. 100. d.

<36639130010014

<36639130010014

Bayer. Staatsbibliothek



Polem. 2679-1



THE  
APOLOGY  
OF  
*Benjamin Ben Mordecai*  
TO HIS FRIENDS,  
FOR EMBRACING  
CHRISTIANITY;  
IN  
SEVEN LETTERS  
TO ELISHA LEVI, Merchant, of *Amsterdam*.  
TOGETHER WITH  
An EIGHTH LETTER,  
ON THE  
GENERATION OF JESUS CHRIST.  
WITH  
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH  
ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS, AND A COPIOUS INDEX.

---

By HENRY TAYLOR, A. M.  
RECTOR of *Crazeley*, and VICAR of *Portsmouth*, in HANTS.

---

*Existimabam, pro Veritate, certandum; & quidem tali, qualem  
animo approbarem: frustra enim daturum me operam ut per-  
suaderem aliis quæ non mihi persuasissem. GROT. de Ver.*

*Ἐγὼ μὲν ἐν περὶ τέλει ὡς εὔρον καὶ ἀνέγνω, ὅπως ἔγραψα· εἰ δὲ τις ἄλλως  
δοξάζειν βελήσειαί περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀνέγκλητον ἔχελω τὴν ἐλερογνωμοσύνην.*

*Jos. Antiq. Lib. X. ad fin.*

---

VOLUME THE FIRST.

---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR

C. DILLY, in the *Poultry*; and R. ROBSON, *New Bond Street*.

M.DCC.LXXXIV.

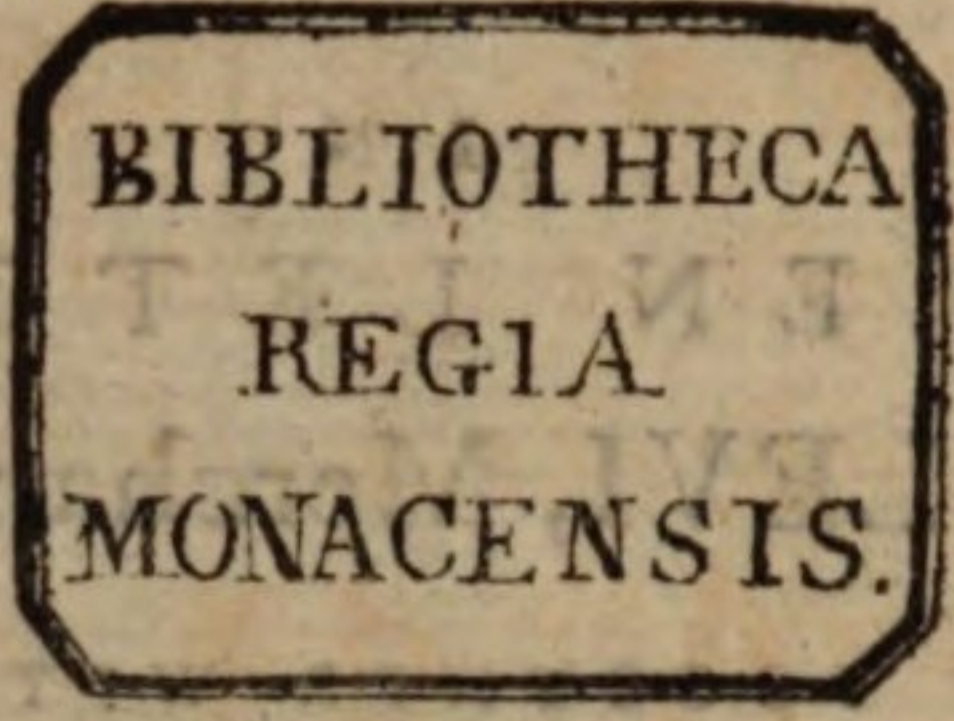


THE  
APOLOGY  
OF  
BENJAMIN BEN MOREHEAD  
TO HIS FRIENDS  
FOR ABSTAINING  
CHRISTIANITY;  
SEVENTH LETTER  
TO ELISHA  
ON THE  
GENERATION OF JESUS CHRIST  
WITH  
NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE SECOND EDITION, WITH  
ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS, AND A CORRECT INDEX.  
BY HENRY TAYLOR, A. M.  
Rector of St. Andrew's, and Vicar of Portsmouth, in Hampshire.

First published, for the first time, in London, by J. G. & J. W. Smith, in the Strand, in the year 1801. The second edition, with alterations and additions, and a correct index, is now published, by the same publishers, in the year 1802. The price of the first edition was 1s. 6d. and of the second edition 1s. 6d. and a correct index, 1s. 6d.

VOLUME THE FIRST  
LONDON:  
PRINTED FOR  
C. Dilly, in the Strand; and R. Roscoe, New Broad Street.  
MDCCLXXIV.





**TO THE  
READER.**

**T**HE Author of these Papers hath long observed that the World is halting between two very opposite Opinions with regard to the *Nature of Christ*; some believing him to be the Supreme God; which is inconsistent with his Sufferings and Death; and others believing that he had no Existence before his Birth of the Virgin *Mary*, which is inconsistent with the whole account of his Humiliation and Descent from Heaven to be made *Flesh*: these Opinions therefore

A 2

being



being both of them irreconcilable with the Scriptures, the Writer humbly conceives it may be of service to the *Christian* Cause to lay before the World a third Opinion, which lies between these two Extremes, viz. that *Jesus Christ* was the Angel of the Covenant or visible *Jehovah*, who so often appeared to the Patriarchs in Shechinah, and gave the Law. This was the Opinion of the Ancients before the Council of *Nice*, till it was rejected by *Austin* (a) to make way for the Doctrine of the Consubstantiality, which has rendered the whole System of *Christianity* unintelligible, and undermined the *Christian* Faith (b). But upon the revival of Learning, when our Divines found themselves unable to explain the Scripture upon any other Principle, they were obliged to return to the Faith they had so long rejected.

And when the *Athanasian* and *Socinian* writers have effectually exposed one another's mistakes without getting rid of their own; when they shall have settled the

(a) See Let. I. p. 58.

(b) Let. III. Postsc.



## TO THE READER. v

various reading of an *av* or an *ov* in *Justin's Trypho*, and agree about the Construction of his Greek; when they have ranfacked all Antiquity for the Opinion of the *Nazarens*, *Mineans*, and *Ebionites*, with as much Zeal as if their Faith depended upon it, and all to no Purpose; their Difficulties still remaining; it is not improbable that the Divines of the next Generation will consider the Subject more coolly, and upon another Footing than those who are now concerned in the Dispute, and find the Principle I am defending, will supply the only KEY that is able to open and discover the Consistency between the *Christian* and *Jewish* Revelations, and form one plain and rational System from the beginning to the end of Time; agreeably to the Nature and Attributes of God, and the common Notions and Principles of Mankind.

The Divines quoted in the Third Letter as favouring the Notion here maintained are Dr. *Allix*, Bp. *Bull*, Mr. *Poole*, Mr. *Pyle*, the *Dutch* Annotators, *Vatablus*, *Castalio*, *Clarius*, *Junius*, *Piscator*, *Calvin*,  
*Ains-*



*Ainsworth*, Abp. *Tenison*, Bp. *Pearson*, Bp. *Burnet*, Dr. *Sam. Clarke*, Dr. *Sykes*, Mr. *Lowth*, &c. &c. and the ancient Fathers who held the same Opinion were *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alex.* *Tertullian*, *Hippolitus*, *Theophilus*, the Councils of *Antioch* and *Sirmium*, *Novatian*, *Hilary*, *Ambrose*, *Cyril*, *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, &c. &c. See Letter III.

But as the most important Truths, when they have been out of fashion for some time, as Abp. *Laud* observes, in his Dispute with *Fisher*, are looked upon as Novelties; it is to avoid this Objection, that I quote these great Names, depending entirely for the Solution of the Question upon the Scripture ONLY: and as the Doctrine here maintained appeared to me at first from no other Authority, and the Opinions of the Fathers afterwards served merely as confirmations of that Sense of Scripture; I have not the least Doubt but the same Truth will appear to every one who carefully examines, without prejudice, the Texts upon which it is founded.

The



The first Edition of these Letters has been published about twelve Years; and I have seen no Answer that appears to me of any importance. I know what precious work may be made by trusting to the Authority of Commentators in explaining every Text agreeably to their particular Theories and Sects (for he must be very dull indeed who is not able to make the Text speak whatever he pleases, if he considers it as detached and unconfined by the Context, and the general Scope and Design of the whole Revelation). Till all these agree, the Sense of every Text will be precarious and uncertain; and when they all agree, they will support one another: And this is the only Evidence I depend upon, for the Truth of the following Pages.



The first Edition of these Letters has been published about twelve Years; and I have seen no Answer that appears to me of any importance. I know what precious work may be made by trusting to the Authority of Commentators in explaining every Text agreeably to their particular Theories and sects (for he must be very dull indeed who is not able to make the Text speak for himself if he con-

In the INDEX,

For *Melichor*, read Melchior.

*Morgan*, read Morgan's Objection in *the Minute Philosopher*, 326.

following Page.



---

---

## LETTER THE FIRST.

---

*Quo magis intrespicio, eo magis verum comperio; eos, qui  
περὶ τῆς τριάδος volunt supra τὰ ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς κείμενα sapere,  
pænas dare τῆς ὑψηλοφροσύνης. HUGO GROTIUS ad fra-  
trem Gulielmum Epistola 152, p. 798.*

---

**Y**OU will not be surpris'd, my dear Friend,  
to hear; that I, who have pass'd through  
so many countries, and always fearlessly  
engaged in religious disputes with the inhabi-  
tants, should still continue my old practice:  
But to be inform'd, as I find you have been;  
that I am upon the point of giving-up, or per-  
haps that I have already given up, that religion  
in which I was educated, and which I have so  
long and so warmly defended; and joined with  
the Tritheists; may be an occasion of much  
wonder to you: and indeed, if it were fact,  
B would



would be no less so to myself.——“ Who could  
 “ imagine,” you might say; “ after our many  
 “ debates with the two Christian priests at *Mar-*  
 “ *seilles*, upon the subject of the Unity, in de-  
 “ fence of *Khaled* the Mahometan; that you  
 “ should be so soon reconciled to the doctrines,  
 “ you opposed so strongly?”—Indeed, my good  
 Friend, I am not so far gone as you suspect;  
 and would by no means have you believe me so  
 unsettled in my principles, as common fame  
 may report me to be; or so weak, as to have  
 altered my opinion; with regard to those essen-  
 tial points, which we then discoursed upon.  
 The God of *Israel* forbid, that I should ever  
 depart from the faith of our great Founder;  
 and especially, in that most fundamental of all  
 principles, (which *Maimonides* calls *Fundamen-*  
*tum fundamentorum*;) in which we were so care-  
 fully and fully instructed by our worthy Tutor  
*Moses Cosraim*; the Unity of *Jehovah*. No!  
 there is nothing, I hope, in this world; that  
 can move me from this belief: neither pain,  
 nor poverty, nor death.

As to the Arguments, which were then used  
 against us by the *Capucin* and *Jesuit*; they nei-  
 ther made any impression upon me at that time,  
 nor since; but rather confirmed me more strongly  
 in the truth. For what did they attempt to  
 prove, but merely the old story, which they  
 had so often objected to us; that the Father,  
 Son,



Son, and Holy Ghost, were each of them the supreme God; and yet were not *three* supreme Gods, but *one* and the *same* supreme God? Which, when it came to be explained, appeared to be nothing more than the ancient Heresy of *Sabellius*; that the three persons in the Trinity were only three different Modes of Existence, under which the one supreme God was supposed to act: which opinion, though it does by no means contradict our notion of the Unity of God; yet, as I then argued, and still think, it entirely destroys the notion of a Trinity; by denying the personal, that is, the actual, existence both of the Son and Spirit. For a Trinity of Persons can no more be constituted, by the Father's acting under the three different characters of Father, Son, and Spirit; than by acting under the three different characters of Creator, Preserver, and Benefactor. And this it was that gave me the first suspicion, that the Christians were not Polytheists; as they had always been represented to me: for I thought it impossible, that they should believe the existence of Three Gods; and yet give up the Personality, that is, the *personal existence*, of their Founder and Redeemer; rather than admit of Two.

It is this opinion, *viz.* That the Christians believe a Trinity of Gods, and thereby maintain a doctrine contrary to the Unity of *Jehovah*;



which hath so long prevented the sons of *Ishmael*, as well as of *Israel*, from examining with any patience into their religious principles. *Mahomet* says, “ it is a long time since the Infidels  
 “ have said there are three Gods; certainly there  
 “ is but One (*a*).” And when *Jacob Ben-Sidi Aali* is giving an account of the *Mahometan* doctrines as reveled by the angel *Gabriel*, he says, “ they  
 “ are to believe in One God, to whom *no other*  
 “ *is equal*: and this latter clause is added directly in opposition to the Christians; who  
 “ believe there are *three Persons* in God *equal*  
 “ to one another (*b*).” And the Jews explaine the second article of *Sepbir Ikkarim* (*c*), to pull down the christians faith in the *Trinity*, maintaining it to be the assertion of a *Triple Godhead* (*d*). “ And both *Jews* and *Moors* accord in  
 “ exploding it as a hypocondriacal imagination  
 “ of the christians; whom they accuse of *Poly-*  
 “ *theism* out of an ignorant conceit that the  
 “ christians imagine every *Person* of the blessed  
 “ *Trinity* to be a *distinct* Deity (*e*).” So that if the persuasion that the Messiah was to be a *temporal* Prince, did (as the christians say) prevent our Fathers from believing in him at his first appearance; the current opinion at present, that the Christian religion supposes him to be a

(*a*) Koran ch. V. (*b*) *Urbes & Mores Orient.* (*c*) See Note I. (*d*) Dr. L. Addison’s *State of the Jews*, p. 17, 18. (*e*) *Ibid.* p. 26, see Note II.



*supreme self-existing God, personally distinct and different from the Lord Jehovah, which is a direct contradiction to the whole Revelation given to our Fathers; is as great an obstacle to our believing in him now: and has for many ages prevented Christianity from making any farther progress in the world.*

I own to you, when I first looked into the Christian writings at *Lisbon*; it was without the least expectation of meeting with any truth, that could be of service to me: it was rather from a desire of knowing, upon what principles their strange opinion of three Gods was founded; that I might be able more effectually to hold-up an argument against them, and defend the Unity of *Jehovah*. But the case was much altered, when I came to talk with the *English* Protestants; whom I found to be much more free and generous in their way of thinking, than any other Christians I had ever conversed with: and, except in the single article of the Unity, not only very ready to hear reason; but to answer it also in a rational manner. This candid behaviour gave me a better opinion of Christianity in general, than I ever had before; and drew me on by degrees to consider its doctrines, and particularly their doctrine of the Trinity, more minutely and accurately, than I at first apprehended to be necessary: for I could not think, that any people would suffer their  
reli-



religion to be fairly examined into by Reason; if it had not something plausible in it at least, if not defensible: and my curiosity was raised the higher; because I had never heard any thing of it before, but what was mere bigotry and contradiction.

Now as the grand point I have always had in view to inculcate, is the Unity of *Jehovah*; and upon this subject the people in *England* seemed to have very vague and uncertain notions; and very few of them appeared capable of giving me any plain and intelligible account of it; and those, who were capable, were not willing to do it: I was at length resolved to see, what their New Testament said about it. And I was the more inclined to enter upon this study; because I found it necessary for my health, to draw-off my thoughts from my misfortunes in the Earthquake; and find-out some amusing employment for the many leisure hours, which, since my recess from business, began to lie heavy on my hands.

I have therefore several times read-over that very extraordinary book; which, even at the first reading, seemed to throw an amazing light upon our prophecies; and to solve me many difficulties. But what most surpris'd me was, that I met with no appearance of Polytheism through the whole; except merely some figurative expressions, which manifestly ought to be other-



otherwise interpreted ; and, at the same time, as strong assertions of the *Unity*, as any in our own Scripture ; and such a wonderful difference of doctrines, in numberless points, from what I expected ; that I much question, whether genuine Christianity hath been more falsely represented by its open enemies, or its professed friends. And if I were to receive no other improvement from my labour than this ; I should at least learn to be more cautious for the future, how I indulge a prejudice against any set of people whatsoever ; without first examining their sentiments fairly, whether they actually profess the errors they are charged with by their adversaries or no ; and observe more carefully that excellent maxim, which you tell me is inscribed upon the *Stadthouse* at *Amsterdam* ; AUDI ALTERAM PARTEM. In short, the Christianity I have met with among the Protestants in *England*, and in the New Testament, is as different from the Christianity we found in *France* and *Portugal* ; as Light from Darkness.

Now, if the Christians themselves have so strangely misrepresented the doctrines of the New Testament by their *Traditions* ; how can we wonder, if our own *Rabbins* have given us, in their way, as imperfect and false an account of them ? or that We, who are bred-up in prejudices against the Christians from our youth, should believe them to be Polytheists ; merely because



because we are told so? For we are afraid to see with our own eyes, or hear with our own ears; and implicitly believe all that the Masters teach us: And, while the world is growing wiser in other things, and we improve upon our ancestors in every art and science; we have wilfully shut our eyes against all farther knowledge in *divine* truths, which are of the greatest importance to us; and refuse to receive them, though reveled by God himself; unless they be also derived unto us, or confirmed by the authority of a *Rabbin* or a *Sanhedrim*; and oftentimes in a very different sense from that in which God reveled them: For who is there, among us all, that adheres to the Scripture alone, without the addition of *Talmud* traditions, and the interpretations of the Masters (f)?

I don't mention this, as a weakness peculiar to *our* nation; but rather as a general infatuation, and the greatest obstacle to Truth that can be imagined: For what can be more amazing, than to find the revelations of God so mixed and confounded with the inventions of Men; that nothing is more difficult than to separate them? And this is not only the case with real revelations; but even pretended ones: The *Sonna*, or book of traditions, among the Mahometans, being looked upon, by many of them, to be of equal authority with the *Koran*

(f) Note III.

itself,



itself, and considered as a test of Orthodoxy; as the Talmud is with Us; the Council of *Trent* with the Romanists, and several Catechisms, Confessions of Faith, Articles of Religion, and such like human compositions, among the Protestants. For no sooner are the learned Divines satisfied, that the revelation comes from God; than they all agree to substitute some human composition in the stead of it: and when their Catechumens “ask for an Egg, they give them  
“ a Scorpion; they ask for Bread, and they re-  
“ ceive a Stone.”

What the learned Dr. *Cudworth* complains of in the Christians, is equally true, *mutatis mutandis*, of all Mankind: “Do we not open  
“ and lock-up heaven now-a-days, with the  
“ private key of this or that opinion of our se-  
“ veral fanfies, as we please? and, if any ob-  
“ serve Christ’s commandments never so sin-  
“ cerely, and serve God with faith and a pure  
“ conscience, that yet haply skills not of some  
“ contended-for opinions, some darling no-  
“ tions; he hath not the right *Shibboleth*, he  
“ hath not the true Watch-word; he must not  
“ pass the guards of Heaven (g).” Thus We also extract our *Shibboleth* from the opinions of our favourite Doctors; by which the true Faith is to be tried and approved: We then go on farther, to examine and interpret the word of

(g) Cudworth’s Sermon on 1 John ii. 34.



God by *their* Authority; and make the Scripture itself bend and bow to it; and admit no doctrine, how plainly soever reveled, which contradicts it: and thus erect a Serpent for our adoration; which, though at first intended to serve good purposes, does at length lead us into Impiety. So certain it is; that nothing but divine truth can, for any length of time, support divine truth. The moment we give way to *human* Authority, in the interpretation of Scripture; there is an end of all *divine* Faith: and we found our religion upon the opinions of weak and fallible men (*b*).” And then all religions are so far upon an equal footing.

After this free and ingenuous confession, you will probably ask me; Whether I imagine our notion of Polytheism among the Christians hath no foundation at all? and, if so; from whence had our Masters this opinion? and how came the Mahometans to agree with them, that it is the fundamental error of Christianity; and to declare the *Unity* of God to be the *chief*, or rather the *only* cause of *Mahomet*’s mission? The Christians, says he, have fallen into Errors, corrupting this dogma of the *Unity* by the doctrine of the *Trinity*; and God, who would not leave the essential truths without Testimony, sent his Prophet (*Mahomet*) to re-establish

(*b*) Taylor’s Liberty of proph. Sect. 1. 12.



them (i). I answer; the opinion did not take its rise from the genuine doctrines of Christianity: but from the disputes among the Christians, many centuries ago; and the unmanly heat and obloquy, with which they reflected upon one another.

And yet I think it is but justice to own; that their differences and disputes did not proceed at first from any bad cause, but from a very laudable one; from a zealous attachment to what they looked upon to be the *true faith*; while they were at a loss to know what *that* was, from the want of a criterion to ascertain and determine, when the words of Scripture ought to be understood in a *literal*, and when in a *figurative* sense; when in a *more restrained*, and when in an *absolute* one; and each party imagined the honour of God would be best promoted, and the Christian religion best vindicated, by interpreting the doubtful texts according to their particular systems.

This uncertainty affects the history of the Fall of Man, the Sacrifice of Christ, the Eucharist, the Millennium, the Locality of Hell, and the Nature of its Fire, the Generation of the Son of God, and many other subjects; but that which caused the greatest divisions and animosities in the Christian church, was the controversy about the Trinity; under the two

(i) *Reland's Four treatises*, p. 172.



famous heretics of *Alexandria*, *Arius* and *Athanasius*; I call them both Heretics, because they were both condemned by the Councils. And it was this dispute that gave rise to the prevailing opinion I am now speaking of, both among us and the Mahometans; that the Christians in general are Polytheists and Idolaters. This accusation was first begun by the Christians themselves; by way of excuse for the dreadful persecutions they exercised against one another: which were followed, according to the just judgement of God, by the ruin of the Christian churches in *Asia*; and the introduction of Mahometism.

“ If we look into the ecclesiastical historians,  
 “ even from the third century; we shall find  
 “ the Christian world to have then had a very  
 “ different aspect from what some authors have  
 “ represented: and so far from being endued  
 “ with active graces, zeal, and devotion, and  
 “ established within itself with purity of doctrine,  
 “ union, and firm profession of faith;  
 “ that, on the contrary, by the ambition of  
 “ the Clergy, &c. they lost the whole substance  
 “ of their religion (k).”

Dr. *Prideaux*, speaking of these disturbances, says of the Christians: “ Having drawn the ab-  
 “ strusest niceties into controversy, they did  
 “ thereby so destroy peace, love, and charity,

(k) Sale's Koran, 33.

“ among



“ among them; that they lost the whole sub-  
 “ stance of their religion; and in a manner  
 “ drove Christianity quite out of the world:  
 “ So that the *Saracens*, taking advantage of  
 “ the weakness of power, and the distractions  
 “ of councils, which these divisions had caused;  
 “ soon over-ran with a terrible devastation all  
 “ the Eastern provinces of the Roman empire,  
 “ turned every where their Churches into  
 “ Mosques, and their worship into a horrid su-  
 “ perstition; and forced on them that abomina-  
 “ ble imposture of *Mahometism* (l).” — “ The  
 “ unhappy Contests, which in the fifth century  
 “ divided the churches, particularly in the East;  
 “ occasioned damages, which Christianity will  
 “ never be able to recover. These sects,” viz.  
 of the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*; “ partly  
 “ from idleness and superstition, and partly  
 “ from the particular grudge, envy, and ma-  
 “ lice, of the ecclesiastics, gave the finishing  
 “ stroke to mutual forbearance in matters of  
 “ religion. From that time there was nothing  
 “ to be seen in the East, but proscriptions,  
 “ massacres, and rage (m).”

*Etherius* (n), a bishop of the fifth century, who  
 was persecuted for *Nestorianism*, says; “ I pass  
 “ over in silence the chains, the prisons, the

(l) Prideaux's Life of Mahomet. (m) Reland's Four  
 Treatises, p. 165 to 169. Letter VIII. p. 52. (n) *Ethe-*  
*rius Tyanorum episcopus, inter opera Theodoretii*, Tom. v. p.  
 688.



“ confiscations, the marks of infamy, the mas-  
 “ sacres that call for compassion: the enormity  
 “ of which is such; that even those, who had  
 “ the misfortune to be witnesses of them, are  
 “ scarce able to believe them to be true. All  
 “ these tragedies are matters of sport to the  
 “ Bishops; among whom want of bowels passes  
 “ for courage: they call their cruelty, zeal;  
 “ and they honour their cheats and impostures  
 “ with the name of wisdom. In this unhappy  
 “ age, monasteries endured sieges; they came  
 “ to blows in councils; they entered into  
 “ the churches with arms; they treated with  
 “ the utmost cruelty all those, that were sus-  
 “ pected of favouring opinions which scarce  
 “ any body understood (*o*): not even those, who  
 “ defended them with the greatest obstinacy  
 “ and stiffness (*p*).” And their contests for pre-  
 ferment were carried to such a height at *Rome*,  
 for the Episcopal seat, by *Damasus* and *Ursicinus*;  
 that there were no less than 137 killed in one  
 day (*q*). It was on account of these divisions and  
 cruelties, which tore the church to pieces, that  
*Grotius* says; *Qui legit, &c.* He that reads ec-  
 clestial history, what does he meet with but  
 the vices of the Bishops (*r*)? And *Ammianus*  
*Marcellinus* says, No wild Beasts are so furious

(*o*) Note IV.

(*p*) Reland's Four Treatises, 165.

(*q*) Sale's Koran, 33, 34.

(*r*) Ep. 22, p. 1.



against Men, as Christians are against one another: “ *Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt* “ *sibi ferales expertus (s).*” An instance or two of the fury and barbarity of those times will give a better notion of them, than to deal in generals.

The first shall be that of *Hypatia*, in the fifth century. “ She was a woman so famous for “ Learning, that she excelled in all Philoso- “ phy; and taught in the schools (which *Plo-* “ *tinus* continued:) so that she had scholars “ out of many countries, and was oft with “ princes and rulers, and for her Modesty and “ Gravity was much esteemed. *Orestes*, the “ governor, often talking with her, the peo- “ ple said; it was by Her means that He was “ not reconciled to *Cyril*. They laid hold of “ her, drew her into a church, stripped her “ stark naked, rased the skin, and tore the “ flesh off her body with sharp shells, till she “ died. They quarter’d her body, and burn’d “ her to ashes (*t*).”

The other instance shall be of *Proterius*, bishop of *Alexandria*; “ who, flying from the “ people’s rage, got into the Baptistry, a “ place revered by the barbarians and the “ fiercest men; but these furious people, set- “ on by their bishop *Timothy*, (whom they had

(s) Lib. 22. (t) Baxter’s Church History, p. 85. Soc. VII. 15.



“ chosen) neither reverencing the place, the  
 “ worship, the time, (which was *Easter*;) nor  
 “ the office of priesthood, did strike the blame-  
 “ less man, and kill him cruelly, with six  
 “ more; and dragging his wounded carcase  
 “ every where, and cruelly drawing it about  
 “ through almost all the parts of the city, did  
 “ mercilessly beat the senseless corpse, and di-  
 “ vided his parts, and spared not to tear his  
 “ entrails with their teeth, like dogs; and,  
 “ casting the rest of his body into the fire, they  
 “ scattered his ashes into the wind; transcend-  
 “ ing the fierceness of all beasts: and the archi-  
 “ tect of this was [their new bishop] *Timothy(u)*.”

In this state of confusion and madness among  
 the Christians, *Arabia* became a secure retreat  
 for those who were proscribed; and was peopled  
 at the expense of the *Greek Empire*.

“ It is certain, from Christian and *Arabian*  
 “ authors; that, before the Preaching of *Ma-*  
 “ *homet*, the Christian religion was known in  
 “ *Arabia*; several Tribes having embraced it.  
 “ The *Nestorians*, on one side, whose Commu-  
 “ nion extended formerly all the way to *China*,  
 “ through the northern provinces of *Asia*; and  
 “ the followers of *Eutychius* and *Dioscurus*,  
 “ spreading themselves in *Egypt*, *Armenia*, and  
 “ *Mesopotamia*, brought over the whole king-

(u) See Binnius, 147, 151.—Baxter, 110. Euag. L.  
 II. c. VIII. Niceph. L. XIV. c. XVI. or XVII.



“dom of the *Abyssines*; and the whole kingdom  
 “of the *Homerites*, in the south of *Arabia*, had  
 “embraced it. Nevertheless, in a short time,  
 “we saw all these unhappy nations embrace  
 “Mahometism. To what can we attribute  
 “so rapid and general a revolution, and such  
 “success to an imposture; but to the Scandal  
 “occasioned by the fatal divisions of Christians,  
 “and the proscriptions and massacres practised  
 “upon one another(*x*)?”

The direct answer therefore to the question,  
 How it came to pass; that the Christians have  
 still been looked upon, by Us and the Maho-  
 metans, as Polytheists and idolaters; is this:  
 that it came from their own intemperate zeal,  
 in persecuting one another under such denomi-  
 nations; whilst, in the true diabolical spirit of  
 controversy, each sect among them drew what  
*inferences* it pleased from the doctrines of its ad-  
 versaries; and then fixed those inferences upon  
 Them, as the *opinions* and *doctrines* which they  
 taught. Thus Archbishop *Tenison* tells us, with  
 regard to *Arius*; “*Arius*, the *Libyan*, a priest  
 “of *Alexandria*, is accused by the Fathers both  
 “as a Heretic and an Idolater; and his idolatry  
 “is charged upon him as the just consequence  
 “of his heretical opinion(*y*).” So that it was  
 from these *supposed Consequences*, and not from

(*x*) Reland, p. 165 to 169.  
 try, p. 158.

(*y*) Tenison on Idola-



any of the *direct and avowed* Doctrines which any one sect among the Christians ever owned, and maintained; that they accused one another of that Idolatry and Polytheism, which they all equally disclaimed, and looked upon to be the greatest calumny and injustice to be charged with: the natural consequence of which, most justly returned upon themselves; in that their enemies very readily received their testimony against one another, and believed every thing that was bad against them all in general.

But an impartial man, who is not biased by the prejudices of former times, and is willing to give every man leave to declare and explain his own sentiments; cannot easily believe such an accusation: On the contrary he will plainly see, that the various interpretations of the texts relating to this subject, and the several heresies that have been introduced about it, had all of them this one point in view; how to *avoid* those very doctrines, of which they are accused: and accordingly it is confessed by *Irenæus*, concerning most of them; “ that the maintainers  
“ of them do acknowledge one God: however  
“ their notions of him might be corrupted(z).” And it was merely because they could not receive so impious a doctrine, as the sufferings and death of the invisible *Jehovah*, the God of the universe, ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός, the supreme, self-

(z) *Irenæus*, l. i. c. 19. pa. 114.



existent God; that so many extravagant opinions have been invented to evade it.

The *Basilidians*, in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered; but said, *Simon the Cyrenian* suffered in his place (*a*), and the *Cerinthians* before them, and the *Carpocratians* next, (to name no more of those who affirmed *Jesus* to have been a mere man;) did believe the same thing. *Photius* quotes, from a book called the *Journeys of the Apostles*; that He was not crucified, but another in his stead. —Some thought it was a spy, who came to intrap him; others, that it was *Titian*, who was directed by *Judas* to kill him; and in the forged Epistle of *Barnabas*, it is said to have been *Judas* himself, who appeared like him: and others say, that his Manhood only suffered; and that his Godhead ascended into Heaven(*b*). The last of these notions is pretty much the same with that which is now held by many, though differently expressed; viz. that Christ suffered only in his Human nature; the Divine nature being impassible.

Thus the Divinity of Christ was given-up by some; and his Sufferings and Death by others. Christ was divided into *two* Christs; and the Christ that suffered, supposed to be different from the Christ that came down from Heaven; though the New Testament never speaks of more

(*a*) Ibid. l. 1. cap. 23. Epiph. Hær. 24. numb. 3.

(*b*) Sale's Koran, p. 42 and 79.



than one. But, notwithstanding such differences, there is not the least pretence to say, as the Christians in power generally do upon such occasions; that any of these opinions were taken up, out of a vain desire of appearing singular; or retained, out of an obstinacy of temper; for, in truth, they were forced into them because they could see no other way to reconcile Scripture with Scripture; preserve, as they thought, the honour of Christ; and maintain, at all events, the grand point they *all* had in view; to wit, the Honour and Dignity of the one God: for, how inconsistent soever they have been in other matters, none of them have ever given-up this; but unanimously professed, “That the Lord our  
 “ God is ONE; the origin, the cause, the author,  
 “ the root, the fountain, the head, of the Son,  
 “ and the whole Divinity; according to the nu-  
 “ merous testimonies of the ancient doctors of  
 “ the church(c).”

But if these warm antagonists have been actually *guilty* of the Idolatry and Polytheism they imputed to each other; surely we have no right to condemn Christianity itself, upon that account; unless we can shew, that It *favours* such opinions and practices.—Some affirm of Christ, that he was created, and (d) there was a time, (or duration), when he was not; Others, that

(c) Pearson on the Creed, pa. 37, 38. Lond. 1741.

(d) Note V.



he existed from Eternity(*e*).—Some say, that he was begotten of the Father by a *Necessity* of Nature; Others anathematise them for that opinion, and declare, that he was begotten by the *Will* of the *Father*.—Some assert, that he was not a Son, till he was begotten of the Virgin *Mary*; Others, that he was begotten twice before the Creation, and a third time at his Incarnation(*f*); Others, that he is eternally generating and generated; as Light from the Sun.—Some believe, he continued to be the identical and numerical substance of the Father, after he was begotten; and Others, that the words υἱὸς γεννηθεὶς, and ἐκ πατρὸς, imply a disjunction from the Father's substance; and a separate existence *per se*.—In these, and a thousand other metaphysical difficulties, the Christians have involved themselves; by deserting the express words of Scripture, and pushing their own interpretations farther than God has reveled; and by restraining the word of God from its primitive latitude, in which Christ and the Apostles left it, have formed particular sects and parties in religion, and made divisions in the church, according to these human and uncertain interpretations; and anathematised all such, as would not submit to them. But, whatever has been the doctrine of *particular* churches, in consequence of this

(*e*) Note VI. (*f*) Note VII. See Bulli Op. p. 100, Domino Nostro, &c.



“ profane and sacrilegious impiety;” the *universal* church of Christ allows of no such mixture of divine and human placits; being open to all that believe the Scriptures: and a man may be a good Christian, and a member of the Church of Christ; who has never been admitted into any particular visible church at all, nor ever examined into the metaphysical nature of the divine substance. The truth of Christianity is therefore by no means concerned in the solution of these, or any other such like questions: on the contrary, it is from such curious and unprofitable enquiries into the metaphysical nature of the Son of God, that the chief difficulties in Christianity have arisen: so that most of the Christians I have met with, are at a loss to inform me in the very first principle of their religion; who the person really is, whom they call by the name of Christ, and sometimes declare to have suffered for mankind, and, at other times, to be impassible; i. e. incapable of suffering.

It is upon account of this fundamental article, *viz.* that the *Messiah* suffered according to the Scriptures; which seems to be contradicted by the Christian Philosophers, in supposing him incapable of suffering; that I find myself obliged in this Apology to enter into such kind of disputes, with regard to which the New Testament is silent. Because, if the Christians have



have actually proved, or are able to prove, that Christ was incapable of suffering; it must necessarily follow, that he did *not suffer*; and if he did not suffer, he was not the *Messiah*, foretold by *Isaiab* and *Daniel*; and if he did not answer to the description of the *Messiah*, which is given by our Prophets; he was not the *Messiah* we expected.

And yet the Christians tell us; (and our own Scriptures, as well as theirs, seem to authorise their assertion;) that our Dispersion will certainly continue, till we become one with them; and receive their *Messiah* as *our King*, who is to reign over all.—And, if this be the case, when shall we see the end of our miseries? Must We stay, till the Christians are so enlightened as to be all of one mind, and teach us the same rational and consistent doctrines? Or shall we kindly lend them our assistance; and from the style and language, and sense of *our* Scriptures, which they allow to be of divine authority, endeavour to expound to them the true sense and meaning of *their own*? This would certainly be a more acceptable labour to them, than they have received from their own brethren of late years; who have been employed for some time in pulling down the errors that were built up in the days of darkness and ignorance, and removing the old rubbish; but have hitherto erected nothing themselves substantial in the stead: which  
has



has frequently prevented the Christians in general from distinguishing their Friends from their Enemies.

The first thing therefore, which I shall undertake to do in these papers, (wherein I mean to lay before you an apology for my present sentiments,) shall be to consider; who the person is whom the Christians call by the name of Christ.

Secondly, To shew; upon what grounds I am convinced that *Jesus Christ* is the *Messiah*, that was promised to the Jews; and,

Thirdly, To explain the Christian doctrine of Redemption and Salvation by Christ; agreeably to the Old and New Testament, the nature and attributes of God, and the common notions and principles of Mankind.

And when I have informed you what my notions are, and by what reasons I support them; I doubt not but you will either agree with me, that our Prophecies are completed; or point-out my Errors to me with a friendly hand. Which ever be the event, I have no other end in this Inquiry; than to understand in the true sense what God has been pleased to revele to us.

The first thing which I shall undertake to consider is this: Who the person is, whom the Christians call by the name of *Christ*; and under this head I shall briefly lay before you the chief of those many different hypotheses, which have been invented by ingenious men among  
the



the Christians; in order to account for the Person, Actions, and Character of Christ: and particularly how he can be said to have suffered *Death*, consistently with his being called by the name of *God*; and how he can be *God*, consistently with the *Unity* of the invisible *Jehovah*.

To solve these difficulties, the Christians have taken different ways: some have supposed Christ to be a mere *Man*; some, that he is the *self-existent Jehovah*; some that he is *Both*; and some that he is *Neither*: and all these, though aiming at the same general end and design, *viz.* the honour of God, and the propagation of Christianity; yet, because they do not explicate their difficulties in the same way, look upon one another as Heretics and Enemies to God and Man; and can never speak of one another without abusive language.

Those whose opinions appear most opposite to one another, are the *Sabellians* and *Socinians*. The rest have formed different systems, as well as they could in order to avoid these two extremes; and it is observable, that all the capital Heresies, which have arisen in the Church, seem to be nothing more than such Consequences, as pious, honest, and ingenious men, might naturally enough have drawn and concluded upon, from the opinions of the orthodox.

And first; It was very natural for the *Sabellians* to argue from these orthodox principles,

E

[*viz.*



[viz. that the Son was of the same substance with the Father, and had all the divine Attributes; and that they were not (δύο πράγματα) *two things*; and that there is only *one* God, and Christ is the *same one* God with the Father;] to the conclusion, which peculiarised their sect; that the Father and Son must be *one* and the *same* under different names or characters.—This heresy was held in the West by the *Patricians*, and in the East by the *Sabellians*, under *Hermogenes*, *Praxeas*, *Noetus*, *Victorinus*, &c. *Noetus* being questioned about it, answered; τί γὰρ κακὸν πεποίηκα; ἓνα Θεὸν δοξάζω, ἓνα ἐπίσταμαι καὶ ἐκ ἄλλων πλὴν αὐτοῦ γεννηθέντα, πεποιθότα, ἀποθανόντα; “What evil have I done? I glorify one God, I believe one God, and that no other was born, suffered, and died, except him(g).” They believed one singular and individual substance with three personal denominations, μίαν ὑπόστασιν τριπροσωπον, οἱ, ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ (h). Dr. *Cudworth* says; they believed but one “Hypostasis or singular individual Essence of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost; and consequently, that they were but three several Names, or Notions, or Modes, of one and the self same thing(i).” And here they agree with the nominal *Trinitarians*; and most of the reformed Churches.

(g) *Pearson*, 158. (h) Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence of his Queries, p. 472. (i) *Cudworth*, 605.



*Dupin* indeed says of *Praxeas*; that he acknowledged but one *Person* in God, not distinguishing the Father from the Son; and consequently maintained, that the *Father* was made Man, and suffered for us (*k*): and *Theodoret*(*l*) may perhaps seem to agree with Him; for, speaking of the *Montanists*, he says; some of them with *Sabellius* denied the three Persons in the Godhead, and said the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were τὸν αὐτὸν, the same Person(*m*). But these notions, viz. that the *three Persons* are the same *one Person*, and that the *Father* suffered; were not expressly held by the *Sabellians*: but drawn as consequences from their doctrines by their adversaries. For we are told by *Basil*; that it was not unity of *Person*, but unity of *Essence*, which was objected to them; which was probably the same *homoousian* doctrine, that was once maintained by *Paulus Samosatenus*; and is now held by the nominal *Trinitarians*, and established by the *Lateran Council*:—For *Basil*, as quoted by *Sandius*, says, it is *Sabellianism* to confess one Substance (that, is one *numerical* Substance) of three Persons; *unam trium Personarum substantiam vel rem*(*n*): so says *Greg. Nazianzen*(*o*) and *Victor Africanus*(*p*). For *Sabellius* thought the Substance of the Father was *substantia solida*, ἡ σόλη

(*k*) Dupin, Nov. Bib. p. 98. (*l*) Burnet's Animadversions on Mr. Hill's Book, p. 6. (*m*) Bulli Op. p. 36.  
 (*n*) Epist. 64. 391. 349. (*o*) Or. 21. (*p*) 1 Cont. Ar.



and *bypostasis*; but the Son and Holy Ghost to be only *ἐνεργεῖαι*, comparing the Father to the Substance of the Sun, the Son to the Illumination or Ray, and the Holy Ghost to its Heat—giving Essence to the Father, Knowledge to the Son, and Life to the Holy Ghost. *Epiphanius* says; in the one Substance of the Deity, *Sabellius* puts three Names; as in Man are reckoned Body, Soul, and Spirit. From whence it appears; that what is said of *Sabellius*, “that he  
 “believed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
 “to be the same;” is not to be understood, as if the Father was the Son, and the Son the Spirit: but that the same one God is Father, Son, and Spirit; as one Man is Body, Soul, and Spirit: and so *Epiphanius* explains it(*q*).  
 “So that the Essence of *Sabellianism*, and the  
 “doctrine of *Paulus Samosatenus*, evidently de-  
 “stroyed the real existence of the Person of  
 “the Son;” making all the Persons to be *ταυτοῦσιν*(*r*), one and the same identical existing Being: [*ἐν πρᾶγμα*]. In opposition to which opinion, *Origen* and *Eusebius* “assert; that the  
 “Son, or Word, is not the one supreme God  
 “over all: that being the notion, for which  
 “*Sabellius* was excommunicated(*s*);” and it is the present opinion of the *Pseudoathanasians*: and indeed, as to the main question, who it was

(*q*) Hær. 62. pa. 513. See Sandii Nuc. 179. (*r*) Note VIII. (*s*) Reply to Waterland's Defence, 460.

that



that suffered and died for mankind; it is not easy to see, wherein the *Sabellians* and *Pseudoathanasians* differ: since they both agree, that the Son was supreme God. But both of them have their Evasions. The *Sabellians*, though they confess the Son to be *homoousious* with the Father, and the same numerical Essence; yet, in order to avoid this consequence, that the Trinity was born of the Virgin *Mary* and suffered, which seems to follow from their doctrine; declare, that Christ was a mere Man(*t*). Dr. *Cave* says the same of *Paulus Samosatenus*; *Artemonis hæresin instauravit, Christum Dei Verbum subsistentiam a Patre distinctam habere negans, ipsum tamen in terras descendentem nudum hominem fuisse, ante Mariam non exstitisse, & nomen Filii Dei non nisi bonis operibus meruisse(u)*. Or, in other words, *aliud esse Deum Verbum, aliud Christum(x)*: by which notion they seem to agree with the *Cerinthians*; making the Word of God a different Person from Christ.

The *Pseudoathanasians*, in order to avoid the same difficulty, tell us, that it was not the Father, (whom they allow to be the supreme God,) that suffered; but the Son, (whom they declare to be the *same supreme God*, but yet a different *Person*;) who suffered only in the Human nature; the Divinity being impassible.

(*t*) Sandii Nucleus, 188.

(*u*) Hist. Lit. 98.

(*x*) Sandii Nuc. 191.

Thus



Thus *they* also *divide* Christ: and fall into the same heresy. But more of this hereafter.

Now as it is impossible, that the Supreme God of the Universe should, under *any* character, suffer and die, and be rewarded; this doctrine is a contradiction to the fundamental articles of Christianity: and therefore cannot be the Truth. This Heresy arose from endeavouring to preserve to the Son, an Equality with the Father; and to maintain at the same time the doctrine of the Unity.—We are told by *Irenæus*, *Austin*, and *Theodoret*; that the Author of this Sect was *Simon Magus*.

The *Socinians*, on the other hand, argued from the general orthodox belief (that the Son of God had suffered and died;) that he could not be that Supreme God, whom all parties acknowledged to be impassible: *quippe Deo παθήματα nullo modo ascribi posse*, says Bishop Bull(y). And from thence they concluded (with the *Sabellians*), that he was a mere Man; who never did exist, till he was born of the Virgin *Mary*: but that he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and for that reason was called the Son of God; for they did not believe, with the *Ebionites* and *Theodosians*, that he was begotten by *Joseph*. And, what is said of the Word of God by St. *John*, they explain of the *Gospel*; and not of a *real Person*: and these two articles

(y) Bulli Op. pa. 60.



are the criterion of this sect; however those who hold them may differ, upon matters of less importance.

Now, how plausible soever this hypothesis may be, upon the foot of Reason; so far as Christ is considered only as a Prophet sent by God, upon the gracious design of instructing, and reforming the world, under the immediate influence and direction of God: yet, when the Christian system is described in the New Testament, as a *Mediatorial* Scheme, and *Christ* is considered as a *Saviour*; the *Socinian* principles are utterly inconsistent with the whole process. For we are not saved by the Revelation of Christ, as a Prophet; but by his Power, as a King and Conqueror; when he led captivity captive, and received gifts for men: i. e. when, having conquered Sin and Death, he received the power of forgiving Sin, raising the Dead, and giving eternal Life. But these gifts and powers he received in reward of his Humility, in quitting the glory of his pre-existent state; as well as of his Sufferings and Obedience in this. It was because He that was *ἐν μορφῇ Θεῶ*, in the form of God, as he appeared in *Shechinah*, or *ἐν δόξῃ Θεῶ*, to the Patriarchs; humbled himself, and took upon him the form of a Servant; that God hath given him a name, that is above every name; that at the name of *Jesus* every knee



knee should bow(*z*). Because he emptied himself of his glory, which he had with God before the world was(*a*). That though he was rich, yet for Man's sake he became *poor*; that *they* through *his* poverty might be *rich*(*b*). These are the reasons given us in Scripture, why he was exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour; and was made King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. And these things prove; that he was in a state of Glory, before he came into this world. And accordingly we are told, as plainly as can be; that he came down from Heaven(*c*). That he was before all things; and by him do all things consist(*d*). That all things were made by him; and without him was not any thing made that was made(*e*): That he was the Word, that was in the beginning with God, and was God. And besides this, the extraordinary Love of God, in not with-holding his only-begotten Son, but freely giving him up for mankind, is spoken of in such a manner; as proves him to have been a much greater Being than a mere Man; though made for a little while lower than the Angels. And this is clearly intimated in the words of Christ to the *Pharisees*; What think you of Christ? whose Son is he? They say unto him, The Son of

(*z*) Phil. xi. 6—10. (*a*) John xvii. 5. (*b*) 2 Cor. viii. 9. (*c*) John iii. 13. xiii. 3. xvi. 28. (*d*) Col. i. 17. (*e*) John i. 3.



*David*. He saith unto them, How then doth *David* in Spirit call him Lord? Saying, The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand, till I make thine enemies thy footstool. If *David* call him Lord, How is he his Son(*f*)? The Texts, that can only be understood upon these principles, are very numerous; which the Socinians attempt to explaine away into a figurative meaning; never heard of before Soci-nus(*g*); but without success; for he, that shall without prejudice examine their interpretation of the beginning of *St. John's* Gospel(*h*), will find it as far-fetch'd and as unsatisfactory, as *Dr. Henry More's* Philosophical and Metaphysical Cabbala, upon the Three first Chapters of *Genesis*.

Bishop *Hoadly* says of them; that “ they  
“ seem to be vanished, and not to have been  
“ so much as spoken-of for many years; and  
“ that their interpretations of some passages in  
“ Scripture are universally rejected; as incon-  
“ sistent with all the best rules of interpre-  
“ tation(*i*).” But however they seem to be  
growing again into Fashion, as to their Doc-  
trines; though they are ashamed of the Name.

(*f*) *Mat.* xxii. 42. &c. *Mar.* xii. 37. *Lu.* xx. 41.  
*Pf.* cx. 1. (*g*) *Sandii Nuc. Hist.* L. I. p. 228. (*h*) See  
*Pearson on the Creed*, p. 116. *Unitar. Tracts*, Vol I.  
*Tr.* viii. p. 26. 43. Vol. II. *Tr.* iii. p. 27. *Dawson's*  
*Illustration of several Texts*, p. 65, &c. (*i*) Answer  
to the Dean of Worcester's Sermon, p. 4.



A late writer of this stamp objects to the *Sabellians*; that they consider the *Word of God* only as an *Attribute*; whereas He supposes it to mean the *Gospel*. But this is one of the chief errors of the *Socinians*; and what they labour *manibus pedibusque* to establish: and besides, it is just the same thing, as to the *personal existence* of the Son before all worlds; whether we believe the Word to mean an Attribute, with the *Sabellians*; or the Gospel, with the *Socinians*. The same writer finds fault with the *Socinians*, and would appear to differ from them, by telling us, “They do not believe the *Fulness* of the Godhead dwelt in the man Jesus; but represent him as one, in whom God did not speak; but who spake and wrought by his own human Spirit: or who was taught of God, but *partially*, as *Moses* and the other Prophets; receiving the Spirit by *measure* only(k).” But it does not appear, that the *Socinians* in general had any such notions. On the contrary, *Grotius*, who favours them, tells us; that “the *Plenitude* of the divine virtues dwelt in Jesus Christ: that is to say, it was *perpetually* and *inseparably* united; and not by intervals, as in the Prophets(l).” And Mr. *Souverain*, the supposed author of *Platonism unveiled*, who is entirely *Socinian*, says; “This

(k) Dawson's Illustration, &c. p. 84. 131.  
 tius on Col. 1. 19.

(l) Gro-



“ is what is called the *hypostatic union* of the di-  
 “ vine with the human nature: even this *Sbe-*  
 “ *chinab* or this *perpetual* inhabitation of the  
 “ Spirit of God in Jesus Christ(*m*).” And  
 again he expresses the very doctrine of this  
 writer: “ We need say no more than this; that  
 “ Jesus in *himself* was a *Man*; and a *God* with  
 “ respect to God *dwelling in him*: so that the  
 “ Man is not the *Lord Jehovah*, but the Lord  
 “ is *in the Man*; and whatever Name he has,  
 “ and Power he clames; it is not the voice of  
 “ the Temple, but of Him who dwells in it(*n*).”  
 Which was also the opinion of *Nestorius* and  
*Photinus*(*o*).

This Heresy of *Socinus*, we are told by *San-*  
*dus*, is a very modern one; for he says, no  
 Christian ever held the same opinion of Christ  
 that *Socinus* did: but all the Heretics agree'd  
 with the Orthodox and *Catholics* in *this*, that  
 they determined the *Word of God* to be *God*:  
 and to have existed before ages; and that the  
 whole Universe was created by Him(*p*). The  
 great care of this sect was, to maintain the  
*Unity* and *Impassibility* of the *Father*; and in  
 doing *this*, they degraded the nature and cha-  
 racter of the Son. But there is no doubt they  
 mean as well as those, who see things in a

(*m*) Le Plat. Dev. part 2, ch. vi.

(*n*) Le Plat.

Dev. c. 22.

(*o*) Sandii Nuc. 186.

(*p*) Ibid. 117.



different and a better light; and are forced into these principles, for fear they should be obliged to admit of the Death and Sufferings of the *supreme God*: not being satisfied with the evasions of the *Sabellians* and *Pseudo-athanasians*, both which fall in with the errors of *Gerinthus*.

We are now to consider the *Arians*. The chief view of These, as well as of the Orthodox, seems to have been; to steer their course between the two extremes of *Sabellianism* and *Socinianism*. To which purpose the *Arians* maintain, against the *Sabellians*, that the Son of God is a Being *distinct* and *different* from the Father; and not a mere *Virtue*, or *Character*, or *Mode of Existence*: and against the *Socinians*, as well as the *Nestorians* and *Sabellians*, who held *alium esse Deum Verbum, alium Christum*(q); that Christ was not a mere Man, but a true God.

It is difficult to ascertain the opinions of those Heretics, whose works are destroyed; and the writings of *Arius* were condemned to the flames, under pain of death to all who should concele them, by *Constantine*; as were those of *Eunomius* the *Arian*, by *Arcadius*: a small part of those writings have escaped; and the account which is given of them by their enemies, is contradictory and inconsistent; being generally not the very words of the Heretics, but the

(q) Sandii Nuc. 191.



glosses and consequences which their adversaries have drawn from them unfairly; and which the Heretics themselves disavow.

The Creed which was delivered-in by *Arius* at the Council of *Jerusalem* in 335, where his Faith was tried and approved, and he was restored to Alexandria and the favour of *Constantine*(*r*); was this: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty; and in the Lord Jesus Christ his Son, begotten of him before all ages; God the Word, by whom all things were made, which are in Heaven and in Earth; who came down and was incarnate, and suffered, and rose again, and ascended to the Heavens; and shall come again to judge the living and the dead: and in the Holy Ghost: the resurrection of the Flesh: the life of the world to come: and the Kingdom of Heaven: in one catholic church of God, extending itself from one end of the earth unto the other(*s*)."  
And the Creed of *Eunomius* begins; We believe in one God, the Father Almighty; of whom are all things: and in one only begotten, the Son of God, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ; by whom are all things. And in his Apology he says; We believe also in the Son of God, the only begotten God, the first born of the whole

(*r*) See Appendix to the 8th Letter, No. III.

(*s*) Baxter's Ch. Hist. 53. See the appendix to 8th Letter, No. iii. Soc. l. i. c. 25, 26.



creation, Christ true God, not unbegotten(*t*). And Mr. R. Baxter tells us; the *Arians* maintained, that “*Tres sunt Hypostases; Pater,*  
 “*Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus;* and that God did  
 “*ante sempiterna tempora unigenitum filium gignere,*  
 “*per quem & secula & reliqua procreavit omnia;*  
 “*viz. subsistentem illum suapte voluntate condidisse,*  
 “*eiusmodi ut neque converti neque mutari possit,*  
 “*perfectam Dei creaturam, sed non tanquam rerum*  
 “*creatarum aliquam; foetum itidem, sed non tan-*  
 “*quam unum e cæteris.* They thought; that,  
 “before God made the rest of the creatures,  
 “he made one superangelical perfect spirit, by  
 “which he made all the rest; and that this is  
 “Christ: and that he received no other Soul,  
 “but a Body only, at his Incarnation: and  
 “this superangelical spirit was his Soul. This,  
 “Mr. Baxter says, was the dangerous Heresy  
 “of *Arius.*” See two Epistles of *Arius* recorded by *Epiphanius*.

In short the *Arians* seem to have believed that Christ was the Word of God, and was in the beginning with God: but was not the self-existent God, with whom he was in the beginning; but

(*t*) Fabritii Bib. Græ. vol. viii. 311. 252. and Cave's Hist. Lit. See Arius's Letters concerning his Faith, to Bp. Alexander and Eusebius, recorded by Epiph. Hær. 69. p. 731. 732, Ed. Par. and by Hilary lib. iv. translated with the appendix to the 8th Letter, as also the long Creed of Eunomius delivered to Theodosius as in Soc. Eccl. Hist. B. v. c. 10. in Valesius's note.



his Son, created by the Father before all ages, one superangelical and perfect Spirit; and thereby became his only Son, by whom he created all other Beings: and that when he came down from Heaven to inhabit the body, which was prepared for him in the Womb of the blessed Virgin; this superangelical Spirit alone was the Soul that informed and enlivened it. Besides these notions, they explained themselves upon others, which they received from Tradition, for which *Arius* was condemned; viz. That there was Duration before the Word was; ἦν ποτε ὅτε ἐκ ἦν\* that he was made out of nothing, ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων\* and that he was not before he was begotten; πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἦν. These are his own words, in his letter, to *Eusebius*; “ We suffer Persecution; because we say, the Son hath a beginning; the Father hath no beginning: on this account we suffer Persecution, and because we assert that he is of nothing(u).” And this assertion he defends in the same Letter, as follows. “ If the Father begat a Son, he that was begotten had a beginning of his existence; whence it follows, that the Son was not always; and consequently, that he had his existence of nothing(x).”

(u) *Persecutiones patimur, quod dixerimus, Initium habet Filius, sed Deus initio caret; propter hoc dictum persecutiones patimur, & quod asseruimus esse de nihilo.* Sandii Nuc. l. 2. p. 10.

(x) *Si pater genuit filium eum qui genitus est suæ essentiae habere principium: indeque perspicuum esse filium aliquando non fuisse; necessarioque sequi cum ex nihilo essentiam habuisse.*

To



To which his Adversaries reply; that he existed, before he was begotten; and was begotten from the substance of the Father.

Bishop Bull says; *Summa Doctrinae*, all that the *Nicene* Fathers maintained against *Arius*, was this; that the Son of God was begotten of the proper substance of God, and thereby became very God of very God(y). And upon this question the *Athanasians* argued as follows; If Christ were *not* the *same* substance with the Father, he could not be *God*; and to deny his Divinity, is to give-up the fundamental Principle of Christianity. And the *Arians* argued; If Christ *be* the *same* substance with the Father, he must be impassible, and did not suffer; and the fundamental Article of Christianity is given-up by denying his Sufferings.

Besides this the *Arians* thought it blasphemous to assert a literal generation from the divine substance: and argued upon it as follows; *viz.* That, in such a generation, either the substance of the Father must be divided; which is a denial of his ἀφθαρσία, or incorruptibility; or else the Father must, as to his undivided substance, be both Father and Son; and be compounded of two substances, one begotten and the other unbegotten; which is inconsistent with his simple

(y) *Sane autem Filium Dei ex propria Dei Substantia genitum ac proinde de Deo vero Deum verum esse, summa est Doctrinae quam patres Nicæni contra Arium asseruerunt.* Bulli Op. p. 3.  
Unity.



Unity. And to say, the Son existed before he was begotten ; is not only improper and blasphemous, but egregious Folly—for if he existed before he was begotten, he was unbegotten :

ὅπερ ἐκ ἀτοπίας μόνον, ἢ βλασφημίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης εὐηθείας ὑπερβολὴν ἂν ἔχοι—εἰ γὰρ πρὸ τῆς γεννησέως ἦν, ἀγέννητος ἦν (Ζ).

And upon this account they rejected the word *homoousious*.

This seems to be the general and fundamental argument in *Eunomius* ; which runs through his book, and upon which his particular expressions are built, which naturally arise from this general principle ; as I shall shew in the Notes(a). And because Dr. *Cave* has given the opinions of *Arius*, in *Arius's* own words, I shall there take notice of them all ; whereby you will see, not only wherein the *Arians* and *Atbanasians* differ ; but judge of the true and genuine sense of the *Arian* expressions, and whether they have endeavoured to explain away or soften their real sentiments, as they are accused.

The opinions of many other Heretics upon the subjects of the Generation and Incarnation of Christ, if fairly examined into, will appear to have risen from the very same cause ; viz. from their endeavour to explain the seeming contradiction, how Jesus Christ is *God*, and at the same time *capable* of sufferings and death ; and it was upon account of the extreme nicety, which is

(z) Fabrit. Bib. Græ. Vol. VIII. 278. (a) Note IX.



necessary in order to avoid Heresy on one side or other of these questions; that those who wrote against one Heresy, were so often accused of falling into the contrary one; as *Dionysius the Great*, *Alexander of Alexandria*, *Marcellus of Ancyra*(*b*), &c. And *Dupin* says, that *Origen* was obliged to use terms, which appeared to favour the opposite error. And among the Moderns here in *England*, the same misfortune has befallen *Bishop Fowler*, *Archbishop Tillotson*, *Bishop Burnet*, &c. So that none of the great Men at present choose to explaine themselves upon these subjects. And if this was the case of *Orthodox* writers, when examined by one another, and the best sense was put upon their words; what could the *Heretics* expect, who had no such indulgence; but whose words were strained the other way? or who can wonder that some men were condemned, and others acquitted; who had said the very same things?

As to the vulgar notion, that the ancient Heretics (I mean those that taught what they believed, and are therefore improperly called by that name) were in any respect worse than other men; there is no good reason to suspect it. They were as learned, and as ready to give-up their Preferments, or suffer Martyrdom, for Conscience-sake, as the Orthodox; and the learned men among the moderns, have fallen into

(*b*) *Daillé English*, 95.



many of the same opinions, for which They were condemned. So that, whatever the Vulgar may think, one would expect that Philosophers and Scholars would be sparing of such reflections; when they see that men of the most unexceptionable characters in all respects, have taken different sides in this argument. *Grotius*, and the *Fratres Poloni*, favour the *Socinians*: *Sandius*, *Erasmus*, *Chillingworth*, *Episcopus*, *Petavius*, speak favourably of the *Arians*(c). And we can have no reason to imagine, these great men were insincere, or careless in their researches. In short, what *Salvian* says of the *Arians*, is true of all Heretics of that kind; i. e. all who believed the Doctrines which they taught: “They are Heretics, but know it not: Heretics to *Us*, but not to *Themselves*. “Nay, they think themselves so catholic; that “they judge *Us* to be Heretics: what They “are to *Us*, that *We* are to *Them*: they err, “but with a good mind; and for this cause “God shews mercy unto them(d).” And if the Orthodox, or *Arians*, had been as good Christians as *Salvian*; they would have shewn mercy to one another: But *that* was a principle of Christianity, scarce ever thought-of among them: What *Procopius* says of *Justinian*, was the general notion of the Christians for many ages:

(c) Note X. (d) Salvianus de guber. Dei, L. v. p. 100. Edit. 2. Par. 1669.



“ He did not believe he was guilty of Murder;  
 “ when he condemned to death those, who  
 “ made profession of a religion different from  
 “ his own(*e*).” But the Christians have gone  
 far beyond this; and massacred the members  
 of their own churches, merely for differing  
 upon subjects which neither side understood(*f*).  
 This was what St. *John* was so amazed at, when  
 he saw the Christian Church drunk with the  
 blood of the Saints and Martyrs of Jesus;  
 “ And when I saw her, says he, I wondered  
 “ with great admiration(*g*).” St. *John* was not  
 surprised, that the Christians should be per-  
 secuted by the Heathens; for this he had seen  
 before, in the reigns of *Nero* and *Domitian*:  
 But that the members of the meek and holy  
 Jesus, should know so little of the true spirit of  
 Christianity, as to murder one another; was a  
 matter of the greatest astonishment to him.  
 And yet in this practical Apostasy from the  
 most essential part of Christianity, their Love  
 to one another, the very criterion by which he  
 declares his subjects should be known to belong  
 to him; all Sects among them have agree’d  
 without Exception: Orthodox and Heretic,  
 Papist and Protestant, Churchman and Dissen-  
 ter; all in their turns have thought proper to

(*e*) Procop. in Anec. p. 60. Bennet’s Irenicum.  
 (*f*) Note IV. (*g*) Rev. xvii. 6.



shew their zeale against the *nation-destroying* sin of Toleration; as it was called in *Cromwell's* time: and for fetching the Devil out of other men's consciences, have made no scruple of giving him a free entrance into their own; not knowing what spirit they were of. Good God! What amazing ignorance, prejudice, and presumption! That men, frail men! who know not the essence of a blade of Grass; and are liable to oversight, misapprehension, and error, upon the plainest subjects; should dare to murder and damn their Fellow-Creatures, and Fellow-Christians; for not agreeing with them in opinion about the Essence of the supreme God! O my Soul, come not thou into their Secret; unto their Assembly, O mine Honour, be not thou united(*b*).

I am now to consider the opinions of the Orthodox, on these subjects. And here it is not only difficult to determine, what Orthodoxy is; but what Authors we are to consult for information, and in what sense they are to be understood(*i*).

For the Orthodoxy of the Church has been very different, in different Ages; and what is now called by that name in the Church of *Rome*, was not completed till the *Lateran* Council in 1215; and consequently is not

(*b*) Genes. xlix. 6.      (*i*) Daillé's right Use of Fathers, Cap. 3. Note XI.



above 556 years standing: as I shall go on to prove.

1st. By shewing, that the Orthodoxy of the Church has been very different, in different Ages; and,

2d. By tracing the progress of Orthodoxy, through the several changes it has undergone; till it became what it now is.

1st. That the orthodoxy of the Church has been very different in different ages, appears from the writings both of Protestants and Papists. *Sandius* undertakes to prove in his *Ecclasiastical History*, that all Antiquity was *Arian*; and Mr. *Jurieu*, the *French* Reformer, says; Every one knows this Mystery [of the Trinity] remained *informé*, without its right form and shape, till the Council of *Nice*; nay, until that of *Constantinople*; (in 381, when the Holy Ghost was first decreed to be Lord :) and this he represents in two great points, the *temporal generation* of the Son, and his *inequality* to the Father; both which he shews by proper citations to have been unanimously professed by the ancients of the three first ages(*k*).

And the Popish party make no scruple to confess; that the Doctrine of the Trinity, as it is now held, can neither be proved from Scripture; nor the consent of the Ancients(*l*); whom they

(*k*) *Emlyn's Tracts*, Vol. ii. 279. *Jurieu* Past. Let. 6. p. 126. 12mo. (*l*) Note XII.



accuse of Heresy, because they *differ* from them: resolving the whole evidence of their Faith into the authority of the Church. Cardinal *Perron* taxes *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *Irenæus*, and *Tertullian*, with the same Heresy; and says of all the Fathers before the Council of *Nice*, in general, that the *Arians* would gladly be tried by them: and accordingly *Eunomius*, the *Arian*(*m*), refers to Them; as of the same opinions with himself: and *Petavius* says, of *Justin Martyr*, and almost all the Fathers before that Council; *cum orthodoxæ fidei regula minime consentiunt*: they do not at all agree with the rule of Orthodoxy(*n*): and accuses them of *Platonism*, and of having corrupted the purity of the Christian Faith(*o*). St. *Jerom* says, Before *Arius*, that destructive Dæmon, (*dæmonium meridianum*) appeared in the World, the Fathers had delivered many things innocently; and without taking so much heed to their words, as they might have done: and indeed some things, that can hardly escape the cavils of wrangling spirits(*p*). Accordingly, *Dupin* says of *Tertullian*; “He speaks in a manner not intirely agreeable to the notions of the later ages; but we must pardon the Ancients such kind of expressions, who wrote before the terms they used were fixed to a certain

(*m*) *Eunom.* Apol. C. iv. ( *n*) *Chillingworth's* Preface, 17, 18. *Petav.* 269. ad Hær. 69. ( *o*) *Cudworth*, 395. ( *p*) Apol. con. Ruff. Daillé, Eng. p. 80.



“sense(*q*).” And speaking of *Justin Martyr*, who says, “the Father is invisible, the Son visible, and the Majesty of the Father greater than that of the Son;” and of the opinion of *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*; “that the Word can be in a Place, and was begotten in Time;” he says, “These expressions, which are common with the ancient Fathers; have another sense in their mouths, than that which the *Arians* have given them since(*r*).” And of *Clemens Alexand.* he says; “He follows the manner of the Ancients, in saying the Word was visible(*s*).” And in speaking of the Opinion of *Origen*, that the Word and Spirit were made by the Father; he says, “These expressions are very common before the Council of *Nice*; and too common with the Ancients, to make it a crime in *Origen*(*t*).” And Bishop *Bull* says; “He was really catholic, in the Article of the Trinity; though he sometimes speaks otherwise than the Catholics do; which is no more than almost all the Fathers did, who lived before the Council of *Nice*(*u*).”

So that, according to these learned men; instead of finding the Opinion of the ancient Fathers in their works, we are to take it for grant-

(*q*) Par. Bib. p. 98.      (*r*) Ibid. 67, note f.      (*s*) Ibid. 84.  
 (*t*) Ibid. 136.      (*u*) Defen. Fid. Nic. Sect. xi. c. 9, 22.



ed that they said one thing, and mean'd the direct contrary; a very modest Postulatum! One would wonder, how learned men could talk in this manner; or imagine, that any one of common sense would believe them. How much more probable is it, that the Faith of the Church *has* altered in *this* doctrine; as we find it *do's*, in almost every age, in *some* doctrine or other; according to the natural vicissitude of circumstances. And indeed, *Origen* is a most material evidence to prove this: who, though never questioned for any error in this matter, in or near his time; has caused so much dispute since. “*St. Jerom, John of Jerusalem, St. Epiphanius,*” “*St. Austin,* and since them, *Theophilus, Justi-*” “*nian,* and the Fifth Council, did accuse him” “of Errors in the mystery of the Trinity: and” “on the contrary, the more ancient Writers,” “*Didymus, St. Anthanasius, St. Basil, St. Gregory*” “*Naz.* an anonymous Author quoted by *Photi-*” “*nus, St. John Chrysostom,* and *Ruffinus,* cite” “him against the *Arians*; as an Author, who” “had orthodox notions of the Trinity; and” “even defended It against its Enemies(x).” and *Demetrius*, who was his Bishop and great Enemy, commends him for the purity of his Faith(y): nay, if we leave these authorities, and” “consult the part of his Works which we have

(x) *Dupin*, 135. (y) Reply to Dr. Waterland's Defence, 328. *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. L. 6. c. 7.*



“ in Greek ; here again, says *Dupin*, we find a  
 “ Labyrinth not easy to get out of. We meet  
 “ things there ; which do not appear less con-  
 “ trary, than the sentiments of the authors that  
 “ have written for and against him(z).” and  
 if this be the case, with regard to the primitive  
 Fathers ; we are so far from finding by Them,  
 what is most Orthodox ; that we are not enabled  
 to distinguish the Orthodox from the Heretic :  
 and (as Mr. *Souverain* observes from Mr. *Vassor*,)  
 “ we can receive no benefit from the Testimony  
 “ of the Antients, for the decision of those  
 “ points, which are now controverted ; upon  
 “ account of the embarrassments, into which  
 “ their Philosophy, hath brought them(a).”  
*Ruffinus* indeed, and others, alledged ; that *Ori-*  
*gen* had been corrupted by Heretics : but *Jerom*  
 laughs at this notion ; and contends, that it  
 was not possible(b).

But, suppose it true ; yet all the Fathers could  
 not be corrupted : especially, where so many of  
 them have agreed in plane and regular Systems ;  
 which they have laid-down professedly in many  
 places, and taken pains to prove and establish  
 by many arguments.

*Dupin* endeavours to account-for this differ-  
 ence in the Faith of the Church, by saying ;

(z) *Dupin*. (a) *Le Platon*. Dev. part 1. c. viii.  
*Traité de l'examen*. d. 1. p. 10. (b) *Apol.* ii. Adv.  
*Rust.* Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, 325.

The



The Terms, which were used by the Ancients, were not then fixed to a certain Sense; and *Petavius* says, The subjects were not explained and understood: *nondum satis illustrata ac patefacta rei veritate.* But this is not sufficient to account for the Fact. For admitting the Ancients had not fixed the same sense to the words, Person, Substance, Nature, &c. which has been given them since; yet certainly they understood what they mean'd by saying, the Father was invisible, and infinite, the Son visible and finite. They knew what they mean'd, when they held the Generation of the Word to be *in Tempore*, a little before the Creation of the World; of whom the learned Dr. *Bull* has given a long list(c): and what they mean'd by declaring Christ to be the Angel of the Covenant, that appeared to the Patriarchs(d); which *Austin* hath since endeavoured to confute. They did not therefore differ from the Moderns, only in the use of abstruse terms; but in plane and intelligible doctrines: not because they did not take heed to their Words, as *Jerom* suggests; but because they were of different Opinions. And the reason of their differing, was; because they had not settled a consistent Scheme, between their Christianity, and the Philosophy they had introduced into it. Their first notions therefore, in the

(c) Note XIII. (d) Note XIV.



days of *Origen*, *Clemens*, *Alexandr.* &c. were crude and undigested. For example, *Origen* in one place tells us, that the Father and Son are one Substance, which the Greeks call *homoousion*; and in the very next Chapter of the same Book, declares; that the Son is of another Substance, and created; *alterius substantiæ, & creatum*: as we are informed by *Ruffinus*(e). And afterwards when they began to examine these subjects at the Council of *Nice*, and reduce them into a System; they were divided into parties: and *Episcopus* says, in the midst of party rage and fury, and upon principles which were taken up on a sudden, they had rather huddled-up a Creed for the Church, than seriously considered the subjects of debate(f). And *Melchior Canus* (g) says; “ It is an usual thing, believe me, for all the  
 “ Judges of the Church, when they publish  
 “ their decrees, to be driven-on by a certain  
 “ Rashness and Suddenness of judgment, as by a  
 “ Wind: so that they effect nothing, which  
 “ may be looked upon as solid, grave, or cer-  
 “ tain”.

Mr. *Jurieu* indeed says; the difference of these points made no alteration in the Christian Faith: and “ that all the vain and forced speculations  
 “ of the Doctors of that time, [the Fathers of  
 “ the three first ages] did not hinder the purity

(e) Bulli Op. p. 29.

(f) Episcop. Note XV.

(g) Loci Theol. l. 5. c. 5.



“ of the Faith of the Church ; *that is* of the  
 “ People. They did not reach so far, as to  
 “ Them ; they remaned in the plane Doctrines ;  
 “ and the rest was for the speculative Divines,  
 “ the Philosophers brought-up in the school of  
 “ *Plato* ; such as were *Justin Martyr*, *Tatian* his  
 “ disciple, *Athenagoras* another *Platonist*, and  
 “ others of the same sort.” He ends with say-  
 ing ; “ Every one knows, that Theological Ex-  
 “ plications are not a part of the Faith : *ne sont*  
 “ *de Foy*(*b*).” In short, he seems to be as much  
 afraid of admitting a change in the Faith of the  
 Church ; as if he were a Romanist, and his whole  
 Religion depended upon the Church’s infallibi-  
 lity. In like manner we are told by *Origen*, that  
 Christians are divided into two classes ; the first,  
 of Infants in the Faith ; who are governed by  
 Evangelical Principles : the second, of intelli-  
 gent and elevated Souls ; who are capable of  
 comprehending the Divinity of the Word-God  
 glorified(*i*). And he acquaints his Readers, in  
 the beginning of his Book *περὶ Ἀρχῶν*, that the sa-  
 cred Writers do not concern themselves with ab-  
 struse matters and speculative points ; which  
 few of them whom they called to the Christian  
 Religion were capable of understanding : but  
 confined themselves to those few clear articles,  
 which were necessary for the reformation of the

(*b*) Tabl. du Socin. Part 1. Let. 6. Le Plat. Dev. c.  
 xix.      (*i*) Ibid. 275. c. xxi. Ibid. ch. xxi



World; to bring them into a state of Righteousness, and give them hopes of Immortality: leaving the more refined Contemplations, which were not contrary to prime Truths, to the commendable Curiosity of those, whom Nature and Education qualified for such enquiries(*k*).

But this is not the case at present: for, whether the Christians are now grown to be all of them Philosophers and *elevated Souls*, or whatever be the reason; the *Philosophical Theology*, which was confined to learned men in the days of *Origen*, and upon which they could never agree; is now looked-upon as a fundamental part of the Christian Religion, and used in the common service of the Churches; the Laws for destroying Heretics are founded upon it; it is considered as a sufficient ground for Persecution in this world; and Damnation in the next; the Ignorant are as much concerned in it, as the Learned; being subject to the same Penalties, if found guilty of Heresy; and it is esteemed to be as much a part of the Faith, in the prosecutions by Law for Heresy, as the Scripture itself: and consequently, an alteration in these Doctrines, is an alteration in the Doctrines of the Church; to all intents and purposes.

Having now shewn, that the Orthodoxy of the Church has been very different, in different

(*k*) Le Platon dev.



Ages ; I shall procede to trace the progress of it, till it became what it now is.

If we consult the primitive Fathers of the Church in the first ages, such as *Clemens Romanus*, *Hermas*, *Polycarp*, &c ; we shall receive little or no information, upon those metaphysical points ; which have since been looked-upon to be fundamental articles, and tests of orthodoxy. They are so remarkable for speaking in the plane style of the Apostles, and not entering into metaphysical questions ; that the Critics judge of the antiquity of their writings, by their being free from such subjects : the very word Trinity being unknown in the Church, till after the year 200<sup>(l)</sup> ; and the mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation not spoken-of in form, till after the fourth age of the Church ; nor the word *Hypostasis* used, to signify *Divine Person*, till the end of the fourth<sup>(m)</sup>.

The Fathers who succeeded these, were brought up in the Schole of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*<sup>(n)</sup> ; and not contented with the simplicity of the Gospel, which was to the *Greeks* Foolishness ; endeavoured to embellish it with all the ornaments of the Academy : and the Christian Theology was explained according to the Platonic System ; and agreed in some things with the notions after-

(l) Dupin in Theophilus.

(m) Ibid. Tom. i. page 36.

(n) Note XVI.



wards held by the *Arians*, and in others with the *Nicene Council*. Bishop *Stillingfleet* observes what tampering there was by times, to bring Christianity down to Philosophy; rather than to make Philosophy truckle under the simplicity of the Scriptures(o). And *Huetius* says, they rather endeavoured to accommodate the Scriptures to the *Platonic* Philosophy of the *Alexandrian* School; than to reform that School by the help of the Scriptures. And accordingly, *Dupin* has observed of *Justin Martyr*; *Il est vray que sur la Trinité il semble estre different de Nous, en suivant ces principes des Platoniciens*(p): He seems to differ from us about the Trinity, by following the principles of the Platonists.

Now the Philosophy of the *Platonists* supposed a subordination and dependency of the second and third Hypostasis upon the first: which was not only the belief of *Justin Martyr*, but of *Clemens Alexand.* *Origen*, and others of the *Alexandrian* School; and was maintained by the generality of the Christian Doctors, for the first three hundred years after the Apostles time; who plainly asserted the same, as *Athenagoras*, *Tertullian*, *Gregory*, *Thaumaturgus*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, and many others(q); and therefore till that time, the generality of the

(o) Orig. Sac. p. 349.

(p) Dupin. Tom. i. 59.

(q) Cudworth, 595.



Christian Fathers represent the Platonic Philosophy as really the same with the Christian; or so near it, that they chiefly differed in circumstances and manner of expression(*r*).

Upon which account, Bishop *Burnet* says, (in his *Animadversions* on Mr. *Hill*;) “ It does  
“ not become Mr. *Hill* to find fault with the  
“ Bishop, for having asserted; that the Fathers,  
“ before the Council of *Nice*, did conceive in  
“ the Trinity a Subordination, importing an  
“ Inequality of the two last Persons with the  
“ first. The Bishop has but too many proofs  
“ upon this Article; and none but those who  
“ never read the Ancients, or read them without  
“ attention, disown it.” This is acknowledged  
by *Petavius*, Dr. *Cudworth*, and *Huetius*(*s*).

Another difference between these Fathers and their Successors, no less remarkable, is what Bishop *Bull* observes; viz. “ That almost all  
“ the Catholic Writers, before *Arius*’s time,  
“ seem not to have known any thing of the In-  
“ visibility and Immensity of the Son of God;  
“ and that they often speak of him in such a  
“ manner, as if, even in respect of his divine  
“ Nature, he was finite, visible, and circum-  
“ scribed in place(*t*).” And it was from these  
principles, that the Fathers who lived before the

(*r*) Cudworth, 621. and *Jurieu*’s *Past. Letters* in French, 12mo. Letter vi. (*s*) *Animadversions* on Mr. *Hill*’s Book, p. 30. (*t*) *Def. Fid. Nic.* § 4. C. iii. p. 267.



*Nicene* Council argued ; that “ the Father alone  
 “ being of his own Nature invisible, the appa-  
 “ ritions of God mentioned in the Old Testa-  
 “ ment, could not be ascribed to Him : but  
 “ they must be referred only to the *Logos* ; as to  
 “ him, whom the Father has not only employed  
 “ as a Minister in the Creation ; but by whom  
 “ he always reveles himself under the Old Test-  
 “ ment(*u*).” But as this notion contradicted  
 the doctrine of Consubstantiality, which the Or-  
 thodox afterwards established at the Council of  
*Nice* against the *Arians* ; it became out of repute  
 and has been very little regarded ever since,  
 tho’ so generally received before.

“ This Notion,” says Bishop *Burnet*, “ sup-  
 “ posed the Father and Son were not of the  
 “ same Nature [Consubstantial] : and without  
 “ doubt, this was the reason that *St. Austin* did  
 “ reject and confute it ; as appears in his book  
 “ of the Trinity ; and obliged those, by whom  
 “ it was received, to reject it(*x*).” But this  
 favourite Doctrine of Consubstantiality seems it-  
 self also to have been an Innovation in the  
 Christian Faith ; and does not appear to have  
 been generally received, till that time. For  
 we are told by *Athanasius* ; that the eighty Fa-  
 thers, who condemned *Samosatenus*, affirmed  
 expressly ; that the Son is not of the same

(*u*) Animadversions on Mr. *Hill*’s book, p. 46. (*x*)

Ibid.



Effence with the Father: and by *Hilary*, that they rejected the Consubstantiality(y): and Dr. *Cave* says; it was the Heresy of *Samosatenus*, that he denied the Word to be a distinct Substance from the Father: So that it should seem, *Samosatenus* was condemned for holding the same *homoousian* Doctrine, which is now supposed to be Orthodox.

I shall now consider the Orthodoxy, that was settled at the Council of *Nice*.

When the *Platonists* of the *Alexandrian* Schole ran into debates, about the metaphysical Nature of the second *Hypostasis*; the Christian Church of *Alexandria* became embroiled in the same Dispute. Bishop *Alexander* maintained, that the *Logos* existed from all Eternity; and was of the same Substance with the Father: and *Arius*, as Archbishop *Tenison* says, “being  
“heated with the dispute, opposed him with  
“Obstinacy and Uproar(z);” for he accused him of *Sabellianism*(a): a plane proof, that the word *homoousios* was then capable of the same sense, in which it was condemned in *Samosatenus*. The Doctrine of *Alexander* was agreeable to that of the *Platonists*(b); who held that the second and third *Hypostasis* proceeded from the first, and were of the same generical Nature; which the

(y) Note X. (z) *Tenison* of *Idol*. 158. (a) *Euseb.* 1. 5. c. 2. 21. 22. 23. *Soc.* 1. 1. *Bennet's Iren.* 43.  
(b) Note XVI



*Platonists* expressed by the word *ἐνότης*, and the *Nicene Council*, by *ὁμοούσιος*, or *Consubstantial*. But this word was not mean'd at that time to include an Equality, as to the *natural* or *moral* Attributes of God; (to which it was afterwards extended by Inference :) but merely to his *metaphysical* Essence or Substance(c). The Father and Son were supposed to be *Consubstantial*, by the *Nicene Fathers*; in the same Sense in which all men are *Consubstantial* to one another: and consequently equal, as to their Essence. For, as *Petavius* observes, in Identity there can be no Diversity or Inequality. But they did not yet venture to argue, from an Equality of Substance, to an Equality in natural and moral Perfections; though they hereby laid the foundation for it, and for all other Doctrines, which were unavoidably derived from it by inference.

Bishop *Bull* gives us the opinion of the *Nicenes*, as follows: “ The Father, Son, and  
 “ Holy Ghost, being in reality three Persons,  
 “ [he means real Subsistences, *ἐνυπόστατοι*] yet they do not, as three Men, exist apart and separate; but intimately cohere and join to each other, and, as I may so say, penetrate (*immeare invicem & penetrare*) each other: by an ineffable *Perichoresis*, which the Scholemen call *Circum-incession* :” from whence *Petavius* contends, that the numerical Union is necessarily effected(d).

(c) Note XVII. *Daillé*, p. 80. (d) *Bulli Op.* 130.  
 see Note XVI.



According to this opinion, each of the three Persons has a particular Substance to itself; and these three are joined together into one: So that, as Dr. *Waterland* observes, the Substance of one Person is not the Substance of either of the other, but different; however of the same kind or united to them(*e*).

From hence it came to be a question, even among the most orthodox; whether the Father and Son should be called δύο πράγματα, or ἐν πράγματι two Beings, or one. *Origen*, and *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, were blamed for calling them δύο πράγματα, and *Basil* calls it a *Sabellian* expression to call them ἐν πράγματι and observes, very justly, that a thing is not Consubstantial to, or with itself; but one thing with another(*f*). The same question arose afterwards, with regard to the word *Hypostasis*, or Substance; upon which, *Jerom* wrote to Pope *Damasus*, to enquire whether he should say one Hypostasis or three; and the question still remains: though the Council of *Alexandria* in 362, decree'd; that those who held one Hypostasis, and those who held three, were all of the same opinion.

But though the Doctrine of the *Nicene* Fathers, when precisely expressed, appropriated the equality between the three Hypostases, to the divine Substance or Essence only, agreeably to

(*e*) *Philal. Cantab.* Remarks on Dr. *Waterland's* second Defence, 14. (*f*) *Basil. Epist.* ccc.



the doctrine of the *Platonists*; yet this restriction or limitation was not observed by all of them: but many, who were accounted Orthodox, because they zealously opposed *Arianism*; considered this equality as relative to the *personal* Attributes also: arguing very justly from the *Nicene* Principles, that if the Substance of the Son was of the same *generical* Nature with that of the Father; he must in like manner be *impassible, infinite, and invisible*. This was a language very little, if at all, used before the *Arian* Controversy: but afterwards, every one being looked upon as a favourer of *Arius*, who should speak the language of the ancient Fathers; while there was no danger of swerving too far on the opposite side of the question; the style of the Christian Writers became very much altered: and they began to speak of Christ in such high terms, as rendered him in every respect equal to the Father; and consequently incapable of local Motion, Incarnation, and Sufferings. And from hence arose another opinion of the Orthodox; which was not only opposite to the Fathers of the three first Centuries, but also to *Athanasius* and the *Nicene* Council. “And this was industriously pursued by *Gregory Nyssen, Cyril of Alexandria, Maximus the martyr, and Damascen*; besides several others both of the *Greeks* and *Latins*: and these were they, who principally insisted upon the *absolute*

Co-



*Co-equality*, and *independent Co-ordination* of the three Hypostases; considering them as three *Individuals*, distinct from one another as three Men are; having no essential dependence upon one another, any more than *Thomas*, *Peter* and *John*; having the same specific Essence, and only a *numerical* Difference; and so equal in all respects to one another: which seems to be the Doctrine of the *Athanasian Creed*(g).

But this opinion was intangled with very great difficulties. As first, it seemed to contradict the words of Christ, when he declares, “The Father is greater than I.” However, this Difficulty they endeavoured to clear themselves from, by explaining the Words as if they related to the Humanity of Christ only; and he mean’d to inform his Disciples, that the eternal self-existent God was greater than a mere Man born of a Woman; which, as Dr. *Cudworth* says, is by no means probable. Whereas *Athanasius*, *Basil*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Chrysostom*, with several others of the *Latins*, interpret the same to have been spoken of the Divinity of Christ(b).

Again, this notion seemed to contradict the fundamental Articles of Christianity. For if Christ was immutable and impassible, he could not suffer; and if he was infinite, he was incapable of local motion, and could not *descend from Heaven to be born*. To the first of these ob-

(g) Cudworth 603. Note XXIX.

(b) Ibid. 599.



jections they answered; that he did not suffer in his *Divine*, but in his *human* Nature: which shall be considered by and by. But to the second, they had no such subterfuge; but were obliged sometimes to assert it, and sometimes to deny it, as it served their purpose. The confusion or dishonesty of the Fathers after *Arius's* time, in speaking of Christ sometimes as if he were unchangeable, impassible, invisible, and immense; and at other times as taking the form of a Servant, appearing in a human form, descending from Heaven, and suffering pain and death; is very remarkable. When they argued against the *Apollinarists*, they asserted; that the Divinity of Christ *could not* descend into Hell: because it was *infinite*, and consequently incapable of local motion; and afterwards, when they found the contrary Doctrine more to their purpose, argued that the Godhead *did* descend into Hell; accompanying his Soul thither<sup>(i)</sup>. Lastly, it plainly followed from this System, that the three Hypostases being *Distinct* and *equal*, must be three Gods; as *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, are three Men: (this objection the *Platonists* and *Athanasians* had foreseen and guarded against, by supposing the three Hypostases to be inseparably conjoined, and to have a mutual inbeing and circumincession; which they called by the

(i) Note XVIII.



word ἐμπειριχωμένης(k). “ And therefore these  
 “ learned Men, in defence of their Hypothesis,  
 “ were obliged to maintain with their Logic,  
 “ that three men are improperly called three,  
 “ and are really and truly but one; because  
 “ there is but one and the same specific Essence  
 “ or Substance of Human Nature in them all:  
 “ and seriously persuaded men to lay aside that  
 “ language. And by the same reason, says Dr.  
 “ *Cudworth*, all Men may be proved one Man:  
 “ and all the Epicurean Gods one God(l).”

To avoid this charge of believing three  
 Gods, “ When this Trinity came afterwards to  
 “ be charged as Tritheistic, they changed the  
 “ System once more; and in the room thereof,  
 “ there started up that other Trinity of *Persons*  
 “ *numerically* the same, as having all *one*, and the  
 “ *same* singular existent Essence. A doctrine  
 “ which, *Petavius* himself allows, was never  
 “ entertained by the *Nicene* Fathers, and the  
 “ first opposers of *Arianism*:” and Dr. *Cudworth*  
 has proved it. And he says, “ it seemeth not  
 “ to have been owned by any public authority,  
 “ save that of the *Lateran* Council only(m).”  
 And this Council was held so late as 1215;  
 under *Innocent* the Third, the same Pope that  
 established Transubstantiation: of whom Bishop  
*Tonstal* says, “ He did not know what he did,  
 “ when he established it; and that he had no

(k) *Cudworth*, 590. Note XVI. k. (l) *Cudworth*,  
 604. (m) *Ibid.* 604.



“learned Men about him(*n*).” And Archbishop *Tillotson* says, “Transubstantiation came-in  
 “with Idolatry, and was made use of to support  
 “it, in the days of the grossest Ignorance, Su-  
 “perstition, and Vice(*o*).” In short, it was at  
 a time; when “Many dignified Ecclesiastics  
 “could not subscribe the Canons of those Coun-  
 “cils, in which they sat as Members(*p*).” And  
 the Pope himself has given us a notable instance  
 of his infallibility in Critical Knowledge, in his  
 Oration at the opening of the Council; in which  
 he derives the word *Pascha*, which is of *Hebrew*  
 extraction, from the *Greek* word *πάσχω* *patior*(*q*).  
 Thus they changed from one extreme to the  
 other: from Tritheism to the Epicurean Trinity  
 (*r*), or the Trinity of the Scholes; which Dr.  
*Cudworth* calls a *Sabellian* jargonry. The Au-  
 thor of it is said to have been *Peter Lombard*,  
 Archbishop of *Paris*, called the Master of the  
 Sentences, who died in 1164; though some say  
 it was invented by *Abelard*, an *Unitarian*(*s*),  
 which is not improbable; and though it was  
 opposed by divers learned Men, and censured  
 by *Alexander* the Third, and other Popes, it was  
 declared Orthodox in the Fourth Council of *La-*  
*teran*(*t*), in favour of *Peter Lombard*; and in op-

(*n*) Note XIX.      (*o*) On Transubstantiation.      (*p*)  
 Dr. *Robertson*'s History of *Charles* the Fifth, Vol. i. p. 233.  
 (*q*) *Daillé*, 49.      (*r*) Note XXI.      (*s*) Unitar. Tr.  
 Collect. ii. last Tr. p. 11. 25.      (*t*) Note XX.



position to Abbot *Joachim*: and is looked upon by the *Romanists* as the standard of Orthodoxy. But the Protestants in this Country are much divided about it.

Hitherto the Orthodox, though they differed from one another in the particulars already mentioned, yet agreed in the main with the primitive Fathers; that the Christ, who suffered for Mankind, was a living Substance, distinct from the Father. Bishop *Bull* tells us, that “It is most  
“certain; the primitive Fathers, by the *Logos*,  
“or Word, who existed before the creation of  
“the World, and by whom the World was  
“made, did not understand any power (*virtu-*  
“*tem*) of God, *unsubstantial*, [*ἀνυπόστατος*] but a  
“*living* and *subsisting* Word, which we com-  
“monly call *Person*. And it is equally certain;  
“that those primitive Fathers held, that the  
“Word was a *Person distinct* from God the Fa-  
“ther, and the Holy Spirit(*u*).” But by the Decree of this Council, this Faith was entirely altered; for it does not suppose the Word to be a *distinct* Subsistence from the Father, or a living Agent differing from him in Number; but merely a *Power*, or a *Virtue*, or a *Mode of Existence*: and so it seems to be believed by most of the reformed Churches(*x*).

(*u*) Bull. de Jes. Christi Divin. 17. (x) See Note XX. XXXII.



Mr. *Richard Baxter*, in his *Church History*, tells us; that *Peter Lombard's* Opinion, adopted by the *Lateran Council*, was this: *Quædam summa res est Pater, Filius, & Spiritus S. nec generans, nec genita, nec procedens.* Instead therefore of obviating the objection to the former notion of the Trinity, that it supposed *three* Gods; this Council seems to have made it very uncertain, whether there are not *four*. For if this Being, this *summa res*, did neither beget, nor was begotten, nor proceeded; it should seem that he must be neither Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost: but something different from them all.

Let us now consider, whether by the decision of this Council the Moderns are brought to agree in their Orthodoxy, better than the Ancients. Dr. *South*, Dr. *Wallis*, Mr. *Hooker*, and the Schole-men, who are called *Nominals*, because they do not believe the Three Persons to be *real Subsistences*, but merely *Names, Attributes, Modes of existence, Relations, Properties, States, or Postures*; expaine themselves as follows.

Some represent the Three Persons, as Three *Acts* of God, whereby he is denominated according to Three different Characters or Persons; (so the word *Persona* is used by *Cicero*) (y) as a Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier. Others say, the three Persons are not mere Acts; but the

(y) De offic. l. 1. c. 30. 32.



Attributes of *Goodness, Wisdom, and Power*; or Three *relative Subsistences*: but so that their *Subsistence* is nothing else but their *Relation*, as the same Man may be said to sustain the Three Persons of a Father, a Son, and a Husband.

To these are opposed the *Realists*; who understand Person in the common acceptation of the word, as Archbishop *Tillotson* expresses himself; and believe the different Persons, to be different Subsistences, Minds, or Spirits; of which opinion were Archbishop *Tillotson*, Bishop *Bull*, Bishop *Fowler*, Dr. *Cudworth*, *Episcopius*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Mr. *How*, Dr. *Clarke*, Dr. *Waterland*, &c. and many of these make no scruple to condemn and ridicule the *Nominals*. Mr. *How* calls *Peter Lombard*, one of the Four Evangelists of Antichrist; and Bishop *Fowler* thinks, they will only make sport for the *Socinians*; Dr. *Cudworth*, as we are told, calls their Notions, the Philosophy of *Gotham*, and *Sabellian* jargonry(z); and Dr. *Sherlock* says, “ To say there are Three divine  
“ Persons, and not Three distinct infinite Minds  
“ is both Heresy and Nonsense—They are Three  
“ Intelligent Beings—Father, Son, and Holy  
“ Ghost, are as really distinct Persons as *Peter*,  
“ *James* and *John*—We must allow the Divine  
“ Persons to be real Substantial Beings—The

(z) Unit. Tracts, Vol. II. Treatise the last, p. 25.

“ Three



“ Three Divine Beings are Substantially distinct(a).”

On the other side, at the University of *Oxford*, [November 25, 1695] Mr. Vice Chancellor, with the Heads of the Colleges and Halls, in a General Meeting, judged and decree'd the Principles of the *Realists* [viz. *That there are Three infinite distinct Minds and Substances in the Trinity, and that the three Persons in the Trinity are three distinct infinite Minds* ;] to be false, impious, heretical, contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church, and especially of the Church of *England*(b).

To which the *Realists* answer ; that, “ What  
“ the *Oxford* Heads have condemned as heretical  
“ and impious, is the very Catholic Faith :  
“ and that this Decree, or Declaration, censures  
“ the *Nicene* Faith, and the Faith of the Church  
“ of *England*, as Heresy ; and exposes both to  
“ the Scorn and Triumph of the *Socinians*(c).”  
And Dr. *Sherlock* says, I will undertake, any day in the year, to procure a Meeting of twice as many as wise and learned men to censure their Decree(d).

(a) *Sherlock's Vindicat. of the Divinity of the blessed Trinity*, p. 105. and 47. *Unit. Vol. IV. Tr. V. p. 27.*

(b) *Ibid. Vol. IV. Tr. II. p. 3.* (c) *Ibid. Vol. V. Tr.*

*V. p. 23. Examination of the Oxford decree, p. 46.* (d)

*Sherlock's modest Examination, p. 6.*



It seems therefore, that the Church of *England* has not yet settled this important Article; nor determined any where in exprefs words, whether there is in truth *One* infinite Mind; for which belief *Van Pere* was burn'd in *Smithfield*: or whether there are *Three* infinite Minds, (*tres spiritus substantiali numero differentes*) for which belief *Val. Gentilis* was beheaded by the Protestant Senate of *Bern*. And she has great Reason to applaud her own Wisdom, in leaving this matter as she found it; whether she considers in what a miserable manner the other Christian Churches have explained it(*e*); or the divisions and animosities, which an authoritative determination either way would have caused.

Besides this difference between the *Realists* and *Nominals*, whether there be *Three* infinite Minds that govern the Universe, or *One* only; the *Realists* differ no less among themselves: one Party believes the three Minds or Persons to be every way *equal*, and that *each One* is equal to *all Three*; because, if *either* were imperfect, *he* could not be *God*. To which their adversaries reply; If they be *all equally perfect*, they must be *Three Gods*; for the same Reason that *each* must be infinitely perfect, to be *one God*.

Upon this account most of the learned moderns object to the Equality as Tritheistic; and

(*e*) Note XXII. Cudworth 605.



suppose the Son and Spirit to be inferior to the Father in all things, but only this; that they are co-eternal, and have all the Divine Attributes that are communicable; not of Themselves, but from the Father. *Episcopus*(f), and Dr. *Cudworth*(g), largely defend this: and condemn those of undeniable Tritheism, who make the Son and Spirit in all things equal to the Father: and these are followed by *Clarke*, *Jackson*, &c.

But to this the other *Realists* answer; that, if the Son and Spirit be subordinate, then, either the Father only is God; or else there is one *great* God, and two *inferior* Ones.

To this it is replied; that the Word *God* is used in the Scripture in different Senses: and that, when Christ is called God; it does not mean the self-existent God; but his Son. For if he was the self-existent God, he would not be the Son of God, but the Father himself; or rather, there would be neither Father nor Son: and if he was both, he must be his own Father and his own Son.

The other *Realists* look upon this to be no better than *Arianism*; and contend, in their different Schemes; some of them, that the three Persons are one God, by a close Union of their Substances; others say, by a mutual Consciousness to one another's Thoughts and Actions;

(f) *Episc. Institut.* l. 4. c. 32. (g) *Intel. Sys.* 303,  
304.



and others, because they are in one another by a kind of *Emperichoresis*.

To all which their adversaries, both *Realists* and *Nominals*, answer; that the *manner* in which the Three Persons exist, is not the question. If they are each of them Almighty, Omniscient, and Perfect God, they must be Three perfect Gods; whether they be mutually conscious or not, whether in or out of one another, whether united or disunited; except they be so united, as to be one and the same: which is *Sabellianism*.

The arguments therefore are the same now, as at the Council of *Nice*: and the Doctrine of the Three Persons and One God is subscribed to by the *Realists* and *Nominals*, as the word *ὁμοούσιος* was then by the *Athanasians* and *Sabellians*; the difference in Opinion being much the same. For we are told by *Socrates* the Historian<sup>(b)</sup>, that “After the Council of *Nice*, the Bishops  
“ wrangled about the word *ὁμοούσιος* and those  
“ that were for it, were censured by the contra-  
“ ry party as *Sabellians*, and were called impious  
“ because they destroyed the *real* existence of the  
“ Son;” which is the very accusation the *Realists* now bring against the *Nominals*, for supposing the Son and Spirit to be only *Modes of existence*, or Names of the Father; “ and those that were

(b) Lib. i. c. 23. Bulli Op. p. 28. See Note XXIII.



“ against *ὁμοούσιος*, were condemned by such as  
 “ were for it, as reviving Gentilism or the Be-  
 “ lief of more Gods ;” which is the same accusa-  
 tion, that the *Nominals* now bring against the  
*Realists*: so that the difficulties are now just  
 the same, as they were at the Council of *Nice* ;  
 and no more likely to be settled(*i*).

This appears to be the present State of the  
 Controversy in the Christian Church ; and con-  
 sequently the question, what is Orthodoxy, or  
 where it is to be found ; is as difficult to answer,  
 as ever it was. It is indeed extremely easy to  
 be Orthodox in *Words* ; because the same Creeds  
 have been always kept up in the Church, what-  
 ever Party got uppermost ; though they so often  
 changed their Faith. But to know the true Or-  
 thodox sense of those Creeds, has been thereby  
 rendered more difficult than ever. If the words  
*Consubstantial* and *Person*, had no determinate  
 sense at the Council of *Nice* ; how can we ever  
 expect to ascertain one now ? and if *Consubstan-*  
*tial* may mean *generic* as well as *identical* Sub-  
 stance, and *Person* may mean either an Attribute  
 or a *Subsistence* ; what can prevent honest Men of  
 the most opposite Notions, from subscribing to  
 the *same Words* ; which some People have so  
 much wondered at ? Hence it happens ; that,  
 as on the one hand it is extremely difficult for

(*i*) Unit. Tr. Vol. 1. Tr. the last.



any Party to draw up a set of Words, as an Article of Faith which they themselves believe; that their Adversaries may not also fairly subscribe to: so on the other hand it is almost impossible to make such a Confession of Faith, as is not capable of being interpreted into Heresy. To prove the first of these assertions, let us consider the dispute between *Nestorius* and *Cyril*; about two Natures in one Person. Here the word *Person* was capable of at least *ten* senses, and the word *Nature* of *nine*(*k*). The proposition therefore might be understood in *ninety* different Senses; and consequently, there might be *ninety* Subscribers to the same Words, and not *two* of them of the same opinion. An instance of the latter assertion, may be observed in the Doctrine of Three Persons, and One God; which might be interpreted to mean three supreme Minds, and be called *Tritheistic*; or three unequal Minds, and be called *Arian*; or one supreme Mind under *three* denominations; and be called *Sabellian*. Every man therefore is liable to be censured as a Heretic, if his Ecclesiastical Judge differs from him in Opinion; let his Belief be what it will.

In considering all these opinions, maintained by such as have been looked upon to be *Orthodox*, we see the great difficulty of determining,

(*k*) See Note IV.



where to expect the Truth. “As far as the  
 “Scriptures have determined it; to wit, that  
 “there is a *Father*, a *Son*, and a *Spirit*, and that  
 “there is but *one God*; and that Christ is in some  
 “places called *God*, and said to be (*ev, unum*)  
 “one thing with the Father, is agreed to by all  
 “Denominations; whether *Arians*, *Socinians* or  
 “Orthodox. But each of these, and many  
 “more, have set themselves to work, to con-  
 “trive a scheme to reconcile the difficulty, how  
 “these Three are One. Now as the Scriptures  
 “have no way determined this Point; all the  
 “Solutions of it by *One Essence*, *One Substance*,  
 “*One in Will*, or *Power*; &c. are justly to be  
 “looked-upon as so many several Hypotheses to  
 “solve a Phænomenon by(*l*):” and not any  
*wicked* design to blaspheme or dishonour God or  
 his Son; but a *pious* intent to explaine his Reve-  
 lation in a consistent manner. And each of  
 them being purely Human, the invention of  
 Men; no Man can have a right to declare his  
 own opinion to be the Doctrine of the Trinity,  
 any more than every other man who differs from  
 him. ’Tis impious and presumptuous to do it;  
 much less has any man a right to accuse his ad-  
 versary, of *denying or opposing the ever blessed Tri-*  
*nity*; because he rejects as unscriptural *his* par-  
 ticular Account or Solution. For what one

(*l*) Sykes on the External Peace of the Church, p. 18.



Christian considers as a most venerable and awful Mystery ; another, equally sincere, may look upon as no better than Superstition and Blasphemy. Did *Athanasius* deny the Trinity, because he differed from *Origen* ? or *Cyril*, because he differed from *Athanasius* ? or *Petavius*, because he differed from *Cyril* : or *Clarke*, *Pearson*, *How*, *Wallis*, *South*, *Bennet*, *Burnet*, *Sherlock*, &c. because they differed from one another ? or *Waterland*, because he formed a system different from all that went before him ? Surely by no means ; every one had a right to understand the Doctrine, as he thought was most agreeable to Scripture : but not one of them to impose his opinion upon other men. And therefore I shall not look upon it as a sufficient argument, that the Hypothesis of Dr. *Waterland* is the true Orthodox Hypothesis ; merely because it is generally espoused by those, who now call themselves by that name : but examine it with the same liberty that I should take with the systems of *Origen* or *Cyril*. For if *his* metaphysical account of the Messiah of the Christians, contradicts the description of the Messiah which is given by the *Prophets* ; it will be incumbent upon Me, either to reject Christianity ; or to shew, that *his* account is not agreeable to the Christian Revelation.

And therefore, I shall now consider the Doctrine of the Trinity, as laid-down by Dr. *Waterland*,



*land*, and several other modern writers; who, in many particulars of great moment, differ from one another; All of them from the most ancient Fathers, and from the *Nicene* Council, and especially from *Athanasius*; and yet affect, one and all, to defend their notions under the authority of *His* name.

The *Nicene* Fathers supposed the Three Persons in the Trinity to be joined together inseparably; as the Sun and its Light, the Fountain and its River, the Tree and its Branches: to which was added *Emperichoresis*(*m*). *Cyril* and others, on the contrary, believed the three Person to be *separate* and *distinct* Beings; but each of himself to be God and Lord(*n*): as *Thomas*, *John* and *William*, are Three separate and distinct Men. The *Lateran* Council, contrary to both of these opinions, maintained a singularity of Substance in the Three Persons; *viz.* That there was but *one* and the *same* singular Substance to them all. These, as I observed, were all reckoned Orthodox, at different times; and a fourth Hypothesis can hardly be conceived. So the *Pseudo-Athanasians*, that they may be sure to be in the right somewhere, maintain them all together; though absolutely contradictory to one another: and the last of them is particularly

(*m*) *Cudworth*, 590.      (*n*) *Athanasian* Creed.



condemned by *Athanasius* himself; as being the Doctrine of *Sabellius*(o).

This system I shall the more thoroughly examine, because it is looked upon by many to be the standard of Orthodoxy; and includes in it the great objection to Christianity, which was made to *St. Augustine* by *Volusianus*, *utrum Dominus & Rector Mundi inter Corpusculum vagientis Infantiae latet; cui parva putatur Universitas*: Whether the supreme Governor of the World was shut-up in the Child Jesus; of which *Dr. Meric Casaubon* says, in his Opinion it contains an objection against Christianity, the most considerable, in point of credibility that ever was or can be made; and which hath kept more people from embracing the Christian Faith, than any other that he knew of; whereof many instances might be given(p). And I may add; it is at present the chief cause of Deism in this Country, by rendering the Christian Scriptures utterly unintelligible; and must be the most unfurmountable obstacle to the Conversion both of the Jews and Mahometans; as indeed it had long been to Myself.

These *Pseudo-Athanasians*, as far as I can understand them, seem to maintain——

1. That the *Logos*, or Word of God; and *that God*, with whom he was in the beginning, and

(o) Note VIII. (p) Of Credulity and Incredulity, p. 118.



*whose Son* he is; and the Holy Spirit, who proceeds from them both; are, each of them *singly*, the one Supreme God: [whole and intire; though some deny this:] and yet the Three *all together* are the same One Supreme God.

2. They hold; that the One Supreme God, who is Infinite and consequently incapable of Local Motion, came down from Heaven. He, that is *Immutable*, quitted the form of God, and took upon him the form of a Servant, and was made Man, i. e. he was joined to a *Soul and Body*; but it was neither the *Father* nor the *Holy Spirit*, that was joined to Man; but only the *Son*: notwithstanding which, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are *inseparably united*; so that the Substance of the Son may be justly called the Father's Substance, being *una summa res*(q).

3. They assert; that the divine and human Nature, thus joined together, is Christ; and that Christ suffered for Mankind, and yet it was not both the divine and human Nature [or, as the *Athanasian Creed* expresses it, *God and Man which is one Christ*] that suffered, but only the human Nature; the *divine* Nature, which came down from Heaven, being the Substance of the impassible self-existent Being; and consequently *incapable* of suffering. Notwithstanding which, it was the *Supreme God* that suf-

(q) Dr. Waterland's defence, 379, 380, 381.

fered;



ferred; and the Blood of Christ was the Blood of the *Supreme* God; “Supreme in the *strictest* “sense, God in the same sense, and in as *high* “a sense as the Father himself;” and received its Worth from being the Blood of *God*: and thereby made satisfaction, to the same God, for the sins of the whole World: which it could not have done, had it only been the Blood of *Man*, and not the Blood of *God*. Notwithstanding which, the Deity suffered not at all; being impassible. All these insurmountable difficulties they run into, in order to support a notion for which they have no proof; *viz.* That it is impossible for God himself to create a Being, with power to create inferior Beings; or to give him such power afterwards: or to command a Being, who is not the Supreme God of the Universe, to be worshipped, to the glory of the Supreme God, by those over whom he hath made him Lord and King. Because, say they, it would be Idolatry. Thus the *Pseudo-Athanasians*, as well as the other Sects, have taken-up their Tenets out of a good design; and run into their errors, in order to avoid what they think more derogatory from the honour of God than the principles they profess.

These opinions, taken altogether, are not properly a *single* Heresy; but a *complication* of Heresies and Contradictions: by means of which the *Pseudo-Athanasians* answer the objections

M

which



which are brought against them, sometimes as *Tritheists*, sometimes as *Sabellians*, sometimes as *Socinians*, &c.

When it is objected to them that, if Christ be the Supreme God, he is not capable of *suffering*; and that, to suppose the Supreme God to suffer, is the Heresy of *Sabellius* and the *Patricians*; they answer, that he suffered in his *Human* nature only; and the *Divine* nature did not suffer at all: which is the same thing as to say in other words, that it was only a *Man*, or *the Man Jesus*, that suffered; which is the Heresy of *Socinus* and *Cerintus*(*r*).

On the other hand, if it be objected; that, to suppose it to be a mere *Man* that suffered, is the Doctrine of *Socinus* and *Cerintus*; they answer, that the Person who suffered was not a mere *Man*, but the Second Person of the Trinity; and consequently, the *Supreme God*; which is the Heresy of *Sabellius* and a direct contradiction to the former answer; for, if the *Human Nature* only suffered, the Second Person of the Trinity *did not* suffer; for the *Human Nature* is not the Second Person of the Trinity, but the *Divine* nature.

If it be farther objected; that it is *Tritheism*, to believe Three Persons to be *each* of them Supreme God; they answer, as the *Sabellians* do,

(*r*) See Lett. VIII. ch. ii. p. 16.

that



t'at they are *all together* but *One God*. And, on the other hand, if it be objected; that it is *Sabellianism*, to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be all together but *One God*, for as much as such a notion destroys the Personality of the Son and Holy Ghost; they answer, *They believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are three Distinct Persons, and each of them by himself Supreme God*; which is *Tritheism*. And if they be pressed with this objection, that the belief of Three distinct Persons, each of them Supreme God, is *Tritheism*; they answer, that these Three Persons, who are *each* of them *separately* Supreme God, are *all together* but *One God*; which is either direct *Sabellianism*, in supposing the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but *One Person*; or else a contradiction in terms, in allowing Three Persons, to be *each of them* a Supreme God, and yet *all together* but one Supreme God.

Thus they absolve themselves from one Heresy; by professing another, which is quite opposite to it; and holding two or more Doctrines at the same time, which are absolutely contradictory to each other. And therefore it is no wonder, if they differ as much among themselves, as they do from their Adversaries.

Dr. *Waterland* tells us; that God is sometimes considered *personally*, with relation and opposition to the Son and Holy Ghost; and sometimes



*essentially*, as comprehending the whole Trinity (s): but Bishop *Pearson*, in opposition to this vain distinction, (as He calls it,) argues; that, if the Son were included in the Father, then were the Son the Father to himself(t). They differ no less, in their notions of the Generation of the Son(u). And Bishop *Stillingfleet* tells us, the Enemies of the Trinity have mentioned Five Trinities; which he enumerates(x): and, in the Second Collection of Unitarian Tracts, mention is made of Forty Particulars; in which the Orthodox differ from one another(y).

These Doctrines of the *Pseudo-Athanasians* do, in their consequences, strike at the very fundamental Principles of all natural and reveled Religion; as I shall procede to shew. But it will be proper in the first place to initiate you into the Mysteries of the new invented Metaphysics, by which they are defended.

It is obvious to the common Sense of all Mankind; that, if there be any quality or attribute existing, as hardness, softness, goodness, righteousness; it must belong to, or be the attribute of Something: that is, there must be some *Thing* or *Being*, that is hard, soft, good, or right-

(s) Waterland, 349. quoted in the Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, p. 438. (t) Pearson on the Creed, p. 32. (u) Note VII. (x) Note XXI. (y) Unitarian Tracts, Vol. ii. p. 8.



teous: you may call it what you please, either Substratum, Substance, Essence or Nature; but there must be *Something* in which the property exists(z). Sir *Isaac Newton* has expressed this Truth very concisely, as an Axiom; *Virtus sine Substantia subsistere non potest*(a).—Now, if the Substance be unintelligent, in which the quality exists; we call it a Thing, or *Substance*; but if it be intelligent we call it a *Person*; meaning by the word *Person* to distinguish a Thing or *Substance* that is intelligent, from a Thing or *Substance* that is not intelligent. By the word *Person*, we therefore mean a Thing or Substance that is *intelligent*; or a conscious Being: including in the Word, the Idea both of the Substance and its Properties together.

But the *Pseudo-Athanasians*, in order to defend their System, make use of the word in so many different Senses; as only serves to amaze and confound us. Sometimes, meaning an intelligent Substance; at other times, dividing the Substance from the Person; as when Bishop *Pearson* tells us, that Christ was buffeted and scourged; and no other *Person* was sensible of those Pains, but the eternal Word; and yet the divine *Essence* suffered not: And at other times they tell us, that all the attributes of God are really the *same*; not only with *themselves* but with

(z) Note XXIV.  
Gen. 483.

(a) Newton's Prin. Schol.



the *Essence*(*b*); and that the *Life*, and *Power*, and *Wisdom* of Christ are the *same* with his *Essence*: and consequently, the *Person* of Christ may signify either his *Essence* or his *Attributes*. But such an uncertain Language can only lead us into confusion. Nor will these arbitrary Metaphysics, which have no foundation in Scripture or Nature, be sufficient to support their Theory. For,

1st. If the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, be each of them Supreme God, in the highest sense of the Word(*c*); as Dr. *Waterland* maintains: then it follows, that the Son and Holy Spirit are unoriginate and self-existent, as well as the Father; and consequently, if they are *distinct Persons*, they must be three self-existent *Gods*: which is direct *Tritheism*. But if they be not distinct Persons, but One Person; then the Son and Holy Ghost are only different names of the one self-existent Person of the Father, and have no real or personal Existence of themselves; which is *Sabellianism*.

2dly. But if they be supposed to be Supreme in the highest sense of the word, and yet not self-existent; (which is a contradiction, and yet seems

(*b*) *Pearson* p. 39, and in p. 27. and 137, Notes; and Dr. *Waterland* speaks of the Will of God as God himself; as if Will were a real Being. Def. 137. Reply 259.

(*c*) Supreme in the highest Sense, God in the same, and in as high a Sense as the Father himself, 53, 57. quoted in the Reply, p. 55. 181.



to be the meaning of these Writers ;) still there will be Three Supreme Persons, and Three Supreme Governors of the Universe; that is, in other words, Three Gods: whereof One is self-existent and unoriginate, and the other Two not so. And, if they exist in one Substance, (as they suppose,) they will be Three Supreme Gods in one Substance; or, if they exist in Three Substances, they will be Three Supreme Gods in Three Substances. For the Existence of Three Supreme Persons in the One Substance of the Father, (which they suppose,) will no more make them the One Supreme *God*; than it will make them the One Supreme *Father*(*d*). If it does the one, it will do the other.

3dly. All that the *Pseudo-Athanasians* can pretend to conclude, from supposing the Son to be of the same Substance with the Father, is only this; that He is God, *as to his Substance*; but, as they divide the Substance from the Person, and suppose the Person to be originate; it does not at all prove him to be a divine *Person*, or object of Worship. And of this they seem to be conscious. For why do they assert, the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God; and yet deny, that there are three Gods? The reason is; that, according to their System, they suppose the *Substance* to be *One* and the *same*

(*d*) Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, 438.



in all Three; and the *Godhead* or *Deity* to consist in the *Substance*. And therefore a Unity of Substance being supposed, they conclude that these Three are One God; because there is only one Essence or Substance among them—But this will not be the case, if they assert the *Persons* to be each of them God; for, on this Supposition there would be no Unity at all; each of the Persons being supposed a distinct and different Person, ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη, as the *Athanasian Creed* says: so that the unavoidable consequence of such an opinion, that each Person by *himself* is *God* as to his *Person*, must be a belief of Three Gods(e).

Besides, their argument that Christ is not God except his Substance be the very *Substance* of the Father; if it proves any thing, will prove too much: viz. that he is not God in his *Person*, except he be the very *Person* of the Father. And it is as much Idolatry to worship a *Person* not self-existent, which they do; as it is to worship a *Substance* not self-existent, which it is said their Adversaries do: and consequently, the *Pseudo-Athanasians* are as much Idolaters; in worshipping the Son and Holy Spirit, whose *Persons*

(e) Dr. Waterland, as we find above, page 32, says, the Substance of one Person is not the Substance of either of the others; but different, however of the same kind. If this be true, there must be three distinct Gods, because both their Substance and Persons are different; and each of them Supreme.

they



they believe not self-existent; as their Adversaries are, in worshipping the same Persons; while they believe their *Substances* not self-existent. For if all the Beings in the Universe were to exist in the divine Substance, as the τὸ πᾶν (as *Lactantius* seems to imagine, when he says, in *eo simul & filius & omnia continentur*;) they would not therefore be *each of them* the *One Supreme God*; but that Person or intelligent Being only, whose Intelligence and Consciousness, as well as his Substance, is unoriginate and self-existent. For what we worship is an *intelligent Being*; It is neither a Nature, nor an Essence, nor a Substance, nor an Attribute, simply considered; but a *Person*; that is, a Moral Agent; a conscious *intelligent Substance*: and therefore, if we direct our Worship to Three Supreme distinct Moral Agents or Persons, or intelligent Beings, we worship Three distinct Gods; whether their Substance be the same or not: and the Worship of Three distinct Supreme Agents, as Governors of the Universe, destroys the Monarchy of God the Father; and is equally *Tritheism*, whether they be supposed to exist in *One Substance* or in *Three*.

But if they assert the Substance and the Attributes to be the *same* thing, according to Bishop *Pearson*; the matter is full as bad. For as there can be no meaning to the word *Person*,

N

which



which is not included in the Substance and Attributes taken together; if the Substance be the *same* Thing as the Attributes, then the *Person* must be included in the Substance, or the Attributes, taken *singly*. And consequently, if God and Christ be of the same Substance or Attributes, they must be the same Person; which is *Sabellianism*.

Or thus: If the *Substance* and *Attributes* be the *same* Thing, and Christ be of the *same Substance* with the Father: he must also have the *same* Attributes: and consequently be self-existent and unbegotten. On the contrary, if the Son is begotten, and the Father is of the same Substance; the Father also must be begotten, because it is an Attribute of the Son *to be begotten*. And consequently neither of them is begotten or unbegotten, and there is *neither* Father nor Son; or else each of them is *both* Father and Son, begotten and unbegotten.

But farther, if the *Pseudo-Athanasians* worship the *whole* Christ, whom they allow to be both God and Man; they worship a compound Being, one part *Originate* and the other *unoriginate*, one *human* and the other *divine*; and therefore, according to their own Principles, are as much guilty of Idolatry, as the *Arians*. And this is the Case of all such among them, who worship the Christ as Mediator; or the Humanity as united to the *Divinity*; of which *Athanasius*



*nafius* is one, who, in *Pfalm* 99. 5. explanes *Worship ye his footstool*, to signify Worship the human Nature of Christ(*f*). If they worship Christ as God and Man, they worship the Creature as well as the Creator.

The Agreement of the Fathers in this respect may be seen in *Forbesii Institut. Theol.* and Dr. *Stillingfleet's* Defense against *Godden*. The former of these scruples not to say of Jesus Christ, *Adorandus, inquam, sine exclusione carnis ab objecto seu termino adorationis*: and he ends the Chapter with this conclusion and judgment of the Fathers; *Unica & sola ratio, propter quam humanitas Christi latria soli Deo debita, absque Idolatriæ crimine a nobis colitur, est unio Hypostatica*: i. e. the only reason why we worship the human Nature of Christ, with that worship which is alone due to God, and yet without Idolatry, is the personal Union to the Divinity. And thus Dr. *Owen*: “the human Nature, in the Person of the divine, and together with it, is the object of all Worship and Adoration; and no other Creature.”

Thus the *Athanasians* themselves worship a Creature, in the very same Act, in which they worship the divine Nature. “And it is a vain thing, says Mr. *Emlyn*, to think to excuse themselves by saying, they do not worship the Humanity for itself; but *as*, and *because*

(*f*) *Emlyn's* Tracts, p. 107.



“ it is united to the Divinity: since as that  
 “ Union does not change the *human* Nature  
 “ into a *divine* Nature, so neither does it hinder  
 “ their Worship from being a Creature-wor-  
 “ ship(g).”

Bishop *Bull* says; “ When the Humanity of  
 “ Christ is adored, the Creature is not so  
 “ adored, but that the Act reaches to the Crea-  
 “ tor, who joined the created Nature to him-  
 “ self in the Unity of Person.” Be it so; yet  
 still the *Humanity* is adored, i. e. a *Creature*;  
 and not at all the less, because the Creator is  
 adored also. And as to the Act *reaching* to the  
 Creator; so did the worship of God by Images.  
*Athanasius* says; “ Though the Flesh be of it-  
 “ self a part of created things, yet it is made  
 “ the Body of God.—We adore not the Crea-  
 “ ture; but God, clothed in a created Body.”  
 If this be the Case, the Mediator is not adored  
 at all; and how does this agree with worship-  
 ping the human Nature, as he explains *Psalms*  
 99. 5(b).—And suppose the created Flesh could  
 be made the Body of God, yet still it would be  
 a *created* Body; and the Worship of it, the  
 Worship of a *creature*.

A fourth Objection to this amazing notion,  
 that the *Messiah* is the *Supreme God*, is this:  
 that it makes him *incapable* of performing those

(g) Emlyn's Tracts, p. 107.

(b) Bulli op. pa. 57.



Actions, and undergoing those Sufferings; which are foretold in our Prophecies, and recorded in the New Testament, to be actually performed and undergone by him; contradicting all those Texts of Scripture, which declare him to be *sent* by the Father to do his will, as He gave him Commandment; and that he *suffered and died, and was rewarded*. For if the Substance of the Son be the self-existent Substance of the Father, (in which the *Pseudo-Athanasians* imagine the Godhead or Divinity to consist;) then the Son was not capable of coming into the World, or being sent: for how can that Substance be capable of moving from one place to another, which fills all space at the same time? Much less can he be capable of Incarnation: for nothing can be more absurd, than to imagine that Substance, which the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain, to be confined in the human Body; and yet *Justin Martyr* tells us planely the Doctrine of his age, *viz.* That he came down from Heaven; that he might be born Man of the Virgin *Mary*(*i*). And if He were only a part of the divine Substance, which was the Notion of *Tertullian* and the *Montanists*; then the self-existent Substance must be divided: which is contrary to the *Pseudo-Athanasian* system.

(*i*) Dial. 2, p. 378, Lon. Ed.



If it be said; that it was not the *Substance*, but only the *Person* of the Son which was Incarnate; (as if the Person could be separate from the Substance :) then it follows, upon the *Pseudo-Atanasian* Theory, that the *Person* who was Incarnate was *not God*; for they confine the *Divinity* to the *Substance* or *Essence*. And as Christ could not be sent by the Father, nor be Incarnate; if he were God, of the *same identical* Substance with the Father; because the infinite Substance is incapable of local motion and confinement: So neither could he suffer and die, and be rewarded. But all these things are predicated of Christ, in the Christian Scriptures; and yet not one of them can, without Blasphemy, be predicated of God the Father of the Universe; who is incapable of them: and consequently, the Christian Scriptures cannot admit of this Doctrine; that Christ is the *Supreme God*.

To obviate this difficulty in some measure, it is said: that Christ is *both* the Supreme God, and *also* Man; that in him God and Man were *united*. So that he had *two* Natures in *one* Person; the *divine* Nature, as God; and the *human* Nature, as Man; the one impassible, the other passible; and therefore, though he could not suffer, *as God*; he was capable of suffering, *as Man*.

This



This notion, though now held by many; yet when thoroughly examined, will appear to agree entirely with the Heresies of *Cerintbus* and *Socinus*, in the main point; viz. That no other Being suffered, but a *mere Man*. For though the *Pseudo-Athanasians* do not now say with *Cerintbus*, that the divine Person who descended from Heaven left the Man *Jesus* before his Passion; nor with *Socinus*, that Christ was a *mere Man*; yet they agree with both, that the sufferings were not *undergone*, i. e. were not *felt*, by that divine Being who came down from Heaven; whom they suppose to be *impassible*: And consequently no other Being suffered but a Man.

To extricate themselves from this difficulty, it was said by *Hilary*; that he *suffered*, but was *insensible of Pain*(k). But this is a palpable contradiction: for without a sense of Pain there can be no Suffering. And therefore it was thought more proper to say, that Christ suffered in the *human Nature* only; which is an expression not so easily seen through, but in fact the same thing: For it supposes the Person who came down from Heaven, to suffer in such a manner; that the sensation of pain fell only upon the *human Nature*: which was *not* the Person that came down from Heaven, but a *mere Man*. For *Nature*, in the strictest sense

(k) See Note XXV.



of the Word, is only an abstract Idea; and incapable of suffering, as having no personal Existence. Now Bishop *Pearson* says, “When he  
 “(Christ) sat down weary by the Well, there  
 “was *no other* Person felt the thirst, but *he* that  
 “was *eternally* begotten of the Father, the  
 “Fountain of the Deity. When he was buff-  
 “feted and scourged, there was *no other* Per-  
 “son sensible of those pains than the *eternal*  
 “*Word* which before all worlds was impassible(*l*).” But all this is mere sophistry, fallacy, and delusion; for at the same time he tells us, the sense of Pain fell only upon the *human* Nature; i. e. the Man: for he says;  
 “the sufferings of Christ were not the sufferings  
 “of his *Deity*, of which *that* was *incapable*;  
 “but of his *Humanity*, unto which *that* was *in-*  
 “*clinable*: for the divine Essence suffered  
 “not(*m*):”—Here then his Lordship supposes the Son of God to suffer in such a manner, as that the sense of the pain fell only upon the *human nature*; but the human nature could not be the *Eternal Word*; but a *mere Man*. Thus in words He avoids the error of *Cerintus*, by supposing the divine Being did not leave Jesus at his Passion; but agrees with him in that he

(*l*) *Pearson* on the Creed. p. 186.

(*m*) The Expression the fountain of the Deity, does not relate to the Son but to the Father; the Author mistook Bp. *Pearson* in the first Edition.



does λύειν τὸν Χριστὸν, divide Christ into two parts, the *divine* and *human* Nature; and supposes the sufferings to be undergone by a mere Man.

Now this notion, that the human Soul only suffered, destroys the fundamental Principle of Christianity: and there is no foundation for it in the Scripture. What we read there is; that the *Word* was made Flesh, and dwelt among us (*n*): That God prepared him a Body(*o*). That he was conceived in the Womb of the Virgin *Mary*(*p*) and born of Her(*q*). But that there was any other *Person* or conscious Being, who dwelt in that body, besides the *Word* which came down from Heaven; is nowhere said in the New Testament: and is founded merely upon a misunderstanding of the Hebrew Idiom in the Gospels, where Christ is called a *Man*, and his *Soul* and *Spirit* are spoken of. From whence the Christians have imagined him to be compounded, not of two Natures only, but of three or four; for, according to the Determination of the Council of *Alexandria* against *Apollinaris*, Christ consisted of a *Soul*, and a *Spirit*, and a *Body*; besides the *divine* Nature. But this is all a mistaken Notion: For the Word *Man*, when used in the Scriptures with regard to superior Beings appearing in a human Form, never supposes them to be animated by a human Soul;

(*n*) Pearson on the Creed, p. 187. 188. (*o*) Jo. i. 14.  
 (*p*) Heb. x. 5. (*q*) Lu. i. 31.



but only by *that* superior conscious Being or Person. And in this Sense the Word Man is used by *Justin Martyr*; when he says, that *Christ* was an Angel, and God, and Lord, and a *Man*, ἄνθρωπος; and the *Man*, ἄνθρωπος, that appeared to *Abraham* and *Isaac*, and to *Moses*(*r*). And so *Daniel* calls the Angel *Gabriel* a *Man*(*s*).

Thus it is said, *Gen.* xxxii. 24. “And there  
“wrestled with him (*Jacob*) a *Man*, until the  
“breaking of the Day:” And this *Man* was an  
Angel in a human Form; as appears by Verse  
the 30th. In like Manner, the three *Men* who  
appeared to *Abraham*, in the Plains of *Mamre*,  
were three Angels; and yet appeared as *Men*(*t*).  
And so the fourth *Man*, that was seen by *Nebu-  
chadnezzar* in the fiery Furnace, is always un-  
derstood to have been an Angel(*u*). So also,  
the Angel that appeared to *Joshua* was as a  
*Man*(*x*): and *Joshua* addressed him as a real Man;  
and knew him for no other, till he discovered  
himself to him. So also, the Angel appeared  
as a *Man* to *Manoah*; who knew not that he was  
an Angel of the Lord, till he had ascended in  
the Flame of the Altar(*y*). And we find the  
same Language in the New Testament; where  
we are told, that at the Resurrection of *Jesus*,  
they saw a young *Man* sitting at the right Side

(*r*) Ed. Lon. p. 262.      (*s*) Dan. ix. 31.      (*t*) Gen.  
xviii.      (*u*) Dan. iii. 25.      (*x*) Jos. v. 13. 15.  
(*y*) Jud. xiii. 11. 16. 21.



of the Sepulchre, clothed in a long white Garment; at which they were affrighted (z): and, at his Ascension, two *Men* stood by them, in white Apparel(a). All these Appearances were of Angels, in the Form of *Men*; yet none of these were ever supposed to be animated by a human Soul; but only by their own *angelical* Persons. Why then should we understand St. *Paul* in another Sense; when he tells us, “The second *Man* was the Lord from Heaven (b)?” There is certainly no Difference once hinted-at in the Scriptures; nor can the least Reason be given, why a human Soul should be introduced. Can it be thought necessary, that a Soul should be created; merely that the Angels should deliver a Message, which they could as well deliver without it? The *Body* might afterwards be resolved into its constituent Parts; but a *Soul* is of a superior Nature, and can never be supposed to be formed for such an immediate Dissolution or Annihilation.

This doctrine of *Apollinaris*, viz. That the *Logos*, or divine Person, which descended from Heaven, supplied the place of a *Soul* in *Christ*, is plain and intelligible; and answers much better than any other to the Texts which assert, that *Christ* took on him the Seed of *Abraham*; was made in the Likeness of *Men*; God was mani-

(z) Mar. xvi. 5.

(a) Acts i. 10.

(b) Cor. xv.



fest in the *Flesh*; came in the *Flesh*; in the Likeness of sinful *Flesh*; in him dwelleth the Fullness of the Godhead; the Word was made *Flesh*; was incarnate. “All these Texts of Scripture  
 “are, upon the *Apollinarian* Scheme, natural,  
 “plain, and easy: It teaches a most proper  
 “Unity of Person; as making the God-Man  
 “*Jesus Christ* to be strictly one intelligent  
 “Agent (c):” It makes the very *same* Person  
 suffer and die, that *came down* from Heaven;  
 which is the fundamental Article of the Christian  
 Religion.

And Mr. *Whiston* says; “The Scripture,  
 “and earliest Antiquity, never affirm, that *Christ*  
 “took a *human rational* Soul; they never say,  
 “he took a *whole human nature*; never say, he  
 “was in that Sense a true and perfect Man:  
 “But that he was made *Flesh*; had a *Body* pre-  
 “pared for him; was the *Word*, or a God in-  
 “carnate; was made in the *Likeness* of Men;  
 “was found in *Fashion* as a Man, while he was  
 “*God* the *Word*. Nay, *Ignatius* directly affirms;  
 “that it was the *Word*, and *not* a human Soul,  
 “which inhabited in that Body: And almost  
 “all the Ancients agree in the same Doctrine;  
 “even *Atbanasius* himself, before the Council  
 “of *Nice*(d).

(c) Sykes on the External Peace of the Church, 29, 30.

(d) Whiston's Account of the Convocation's proceeding  
 against him, 87.



And notwithstanding the pains that were taken to discourage it, it appeared again, in different shapes in the *Christian Church*, in the Doctrine of the *Monothelites*; who held, that *Christ* had only *one Will*; which without doubt is sufficient for *one Person*. And in the *Jewish church* the same notion appeared among the cabalistic *Jews*, who looked upon the Angel *Metatron*, who they say instructed *Moses*, to be the Soul of the *Messiah(e)*. And this Angel they supposed to be the Angel of the Covenant, or the Angel of God, or the Visible *Jehovah*; who appeared to the Patriarchs in a human form. Why then should the Christians imagine; that, when Christ is called a *Man* in their Scriptures, it has any other meaning; than when the Angel of the Covenant, or any other Angel, is called a *Man* in the writings of *Moses*?

But as this opinion may perhaps be looked upon to be *new*; and so concluded to be *false*, without farther examination; I must be obliged to expatiate a little here, in order to prove its *Antiquity*; For there are many men, who hate *Novelty* as much as *Falsity*; or at least look upon the former, as a certain proof of the latter. Now this opinion is spoken-of so early as in the Epistle of *Ignatius* to the *Philadelphians*; in which, among other doctrines that he mentions as false,

(e) Allix on the Jewish Church, 456.



this is one; *viz.* that there was not in Christ a human Soul, but the Soul was supplied by the *Logos*(*f*). From hence it would appear, if the Epistle was allowed to be genuine, that this notion was extremely antient: for *Ignatius* was Bishop of *Alexandria* about the year 70. But the authority of it is doubted; and this very doctrine is given as a reason of that doubt. For we are told; that “in the Epistle to the *Philadelphians*, mention is made of this Heresy, “that there was in Christ no human soul; yet “was *Apollinaris Laodicens* the first author “thereof, who lived about the year 370(*g*).” And besides it is observed that this Epistle is never quoted by any of the Ancients; nor was ever heard-of in the world before *Ado Viennensis*; who flourished about the year 859(*h*). If this be the case, it shews; that those who foisted it into this Epistle, wanted the authority of *Ignatius* to make it thought an error; but it does not appear, that it was ever looked-upon in that light till condemned by the Council of *Alexandria*, near 300 years after, in 362; and *Apollinaris* by name, in 381.

But we are referred to *Apollinaris*; and told, that he is the First who maintained this doctrine; and the Author of it. Probably, it was never disputed before his time; because it

(*f*) Note XXVI.      (*g*) Ἀρχαιουστονία, by J. Hanmer, p. 8.      (*h*) Unit. Tracts, Vol. 2. Tract 3. p. 16.



was never before questioned, but was considered as the genuine doctrine of the Apostles; for it is held by all those, who are called *Jacobites*, and received their doctrines immediately from St. *James*; and, as others say, were converted by St. *Matthew*. These teach, with *Arius* and *Apollinaris*; that the *Word* hath a nature liable to change, and took Flesh *without* a Soul; and that the Body of the Lord hath not a Mind [*mentem*]; but the *Word* supplies its place; and these are extremely numerous in *Asia*. So that this doctrine is neither to be looked-upon as a private opinion of the *Arians*, nor of a late date; and all the Christian world was once of this persuasion(*i*).

As long as the genius of the *Hebrew* language was well explained by the converted *Jews*; the Christ, and the Soul and Spirit of Christ, were understood to signify the same thing as Christ himself; agreeable to our own Scriptures, even when speaking of *Jehovah* himself. Thus we find in the Old Testament; Hast thou utterly rejected us? Hath thy *Soul* loathed *Sion*(*k*)? your new-moons, and your appointed feasts, my *Soul* hateth(*l*). Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine Elect, in whom my *Soul* delighteth(*m*), &c. And in the same sense the

(*i*) Sandii Nuc. pa. 101.—See below a quotation from Sandius, in Note IX. p. 97. (*k*) Jer. xiv. 19. (*l*) Is. i. 14. (*m*) Is. xlii. i. v. 9.



word Spirit is used: My *Spirit* shall not always strive with Men(*n*). And St. *Paul* uses the same language: What man knoweth the things of a man, but the *Spirit* of man that is in him(*o*); that is, the *Man himself*. Even so, the things of God knoweth no man, but the *Spirit* of God; that is, *God himself*(*p*). So the Spirit of *Christ*, the Spirit of *Paul*, the Spirit of the *Medes*, signifies their Persons; and the Spirit of Burning, of Counsel, of Grace, &c. signifies the Things themselves. It is true, there are but few texts; in which we can be certain, whether the expression *the Spirit of God*, be mean'd of the *Person* of God the Father; or of the *Third Person* of the Trinity, which is called the Holy Spirit: however, one or two are sufficient for my purpose; especially as the word Soul is so frequently used of God the Father, and is subject to no such equivocation. And it is very remarkable; that *Lucian*, who suffered Martyrdom at *Nicomedia*, and understood the *Hebrew* language so well that he translated the Scripture out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*; was of the same opinion, in this respect, with *Apollinaris*; in denying that Christ had any other Soul than the *Logos*(*q*).

But when by the decisions of the Councils, which made the Son of God equal to his own

(*n*) Gen. vi 3.      (*o*) 1 Cor. ii 11.      (*p*) Rom. viii.  
9.      (*q*) Epiph. in Ancor. §. 35. Sandius 210.



Father; the *Jews* were no longer capable of being converted to a Religion, which appeared to contradict the first Commandment of the Law; Christianity lost one of its chiefest supports, by losing the knowledge of the *Hebrew* Language; which, during many ages, few of the learned Christians understood(*r*): so that when they met with such expressions as these which are used of Christ, My *Soul* is exceeding sorrowful(*s*); Father, into thy hand I commend my *Spirit*(*t*); they mistook the sense of the Idiom, and imagined that the Words *Soul* and *Spirit* were meant to express something different from Christ himself: not considering, that, by the same interpretation, they must suppose a Soul, and a Spirit, and a Divinity, in the Self-existent *Jehovah*; who is absolutely simple and uncompounded(*u*).

But the Council of *Alexandria* not observing the *Hebrew* idiom in these words, and having authority from the New Testament, to speak not only of the *Word* of God, but also of his *Soul* and *Spirit*; declared, in opposition to *Apollinaris*, though they did not mention him by Name; that Christ had a Soul, and a Body, and a Spirit: and condemned his opinion as heretical. But whether *Apollinaris* had the truth on his side, or the Council that con-

(*r*) Note XXVII. (*s*) *Mark* xiv. 34. (*t*) *Luke* xxiii. 46. (*u*) Note XXVIII.



demned him, still continues a question. Perhaps, if we consider the *Man*, and his *communication*; and how little can be said against him by those, who were most willing to condemn him; we shall be apt to believe his opinion *orthodox*, in the *true* sense of the word; and that the Council that condemned him were the Heretics. I refer you to the Note, for satisfaction in this particular; as it would make too long a digression in the Text(x).

Now, since the words *Soul* and *Spirit*, when spoken of Christ, are only different phrases to express the same Person of Christ; and not the different Parts, of which he was compounded; the doctrine which considers Christ as two or three conscious Beings united, sometimes as God and sometimes as Man, knowing a thing as God, and ignorant of it as a Man, cannot be proved from Scripture: and consequently, the notion founded upon it, that the human nature of Christ suffered, but the Divine Nature was impassible, is without sufficient foundation to support it.

“ *John* (says *Irenæus*) knew but *one* and the  
 “ *same* person; who was the *Word* of God, and  
 “ the only Begotten, and was incarnate for  
 “ man’s salvation; Jesus Christ, our Lord(y).”  
 —And again, “ Let us not think, that Jesus is

(x) Note XVIII. (y) *Irenæus*, l. iii. c. 18. p. 242.  
 Reply to Dr. Waterland’s defence, p. 42.



“ *one* person, and Christ *another* person; but  
 “ know, that they are both one and the same  
 “ person.”—And again, “ *Paul*, says he, knew  
 “ nothing of that Christ, which *departed* from  
 “ Jesus; nor of that Saviour, who they say was  
 “ *impassible*: For, if it was *one* person that suf-  
 “ fered, and *another* that remained impassible;  
 “ *one* person that was born, and *another* that  
 “ descended upon him that was born, and left  
 “ him again (at his Passion); then there is not  
 “ *one*, but *two* persons(*z*).”—Again, “ Jesus,  
 “ that suffered for us, is that very person who  
 “ was the Word of God(*a*).—The Word of  
 “ God was made Flesh, and suffered.—If Christ  
 “ did not *really* suffer; no thanks are due to  
 “ him, who suffered nothing for us.”—The  
 Apostolic Constitutions say; “ He (God the  
 “ Father) condescended that his Beloved, the  
 “ Divine Word, who was by nature impassible,  
 “ should suffer for us: and *Hippolytus* says, the  
 “ impassible Word of God submitted to suffer.”

What I mean by these quotations from the  
 Fathers, is only to shew; that the opinion I  
 am defending is the old original Faith of the  
 antient Writers: and that, in their days, the  
 notion of *two* Persons in Christ, or, which is  
 the same thing, *two* Natures, the one passible,  
 the other impassible, was Heretical: which of

(*z*) Ib. 242.      (*a*) Ib. 42.



them is the true opinion, is another question; and must be determined by Scripture.

And nothing is more manifest in the New Testament; than that it always considers the Christ that *came down* from Heaven, the Christ *born* of the Virgin, and the Christ that *suffered*, as the *same* individual person; and never speaks of Christ, as divided; or of one part of Christ, as acting distinct and separate from another: But declares; “Every spirit which divideth “Jesus, is not of God.” 1 *John*, iv. 3(b). It never tells us, the Messiah who was called Christ, differed from the Messiah that *Isaiab* tells us was to suffer; or the Christ who came down from Heaven, differed from the Christ that died: But the Christ by whom God *made the worlds*, is represented as the very *same person* who *purged our sins*, and whom God hath appointed *Heir of all things*; and it was the *same* Person that *humiliated* himself, who became obedient to Death. But, if the Divine Nature did not suffer; where was the *Humiliation*? And when St. *Paul* proved, that “Jesus was “the Christ(c);” he proved, that they were *one* and the *same* person; for there can be no other meaning to the words. “Jesus knew

(b) Many antient Copies read it so. *Irenæus*, lib. iii. c. 18. *Cerintbus* did λέγει Ἰησοῦν divide Christ into two persons. Reply to Dr. *Waterland*, p. 41. (c) *Acts* xviii. 28.

“that



“ that *he* (i. e. himself, the very same person,  
 “ substance, and nature) came from God, and  
 “ went to God(*d*).” I came from the Father,  
 says he; and am come into the world: Again,  
 I, the very same person that came from the Fa-  
 ther, leave the world; and go to the Fa-  
 ther(*e*): It was the Son of Man that ascended  
 up where He was before(*f*); He that *descended*  
 was the same (person) also that *ascended* up far  
 above all Heavens, that he might fill all  
 things(*g*): The same Word, that was in the  
 beginning with God, and made all Things,  
 was made Flesh(*b*): The Child that was born of  
 the Virgin, was *Emanuel*; or *God with us*(*i*).

We are told by St. *Paul*, that Christ gave  
*himself* for us(*k*); that he gave *himself* for the  
 Church(*l*); that he gave *himself* a ransom for  
 all(*m*); who being the brightness of his (the  
 Father's) glory, and the express image of his  
 Person, when he had, by *himself*, purged our  
 sins, sat down at the right hand of the Majesty  
 on High(*n*): It was *himself* that took Flesh(*o*);  
 and *himself* that suffered(*p*). From all these  
 Texts, nothing is more plain than this; that  
 it was Christ *himself* that was given for us, and

(*d*) John xiii. 3.      (*e*) John xvi. 28.      (*f*) John  
 vi. 62.      (*g*) Eph. iv. 10.      (*b*) John i. 2. 14.  
 (*i*) Mat. i. 23.      (*k*) Eph. v. 2.      (*l*) Ib. 25.  
 (*m*) 1 Tim. ii. 6.      (*n*) Heb. i. 3.      (*o*) Heb. ii. 14.  
 (*p*) Ib. 18. ix. 26.

suffered,



suffered, and died; and not a *Part of himself* only. If such an unaccountable Sense, as that of a *Half Self*, had been the true meaning of the Texts; it would certainly have been so explained: such a Sense having never been heard of before; nor intelligible, ever since it was first invented: For was the Divine nature Christ *himself*, or was the Human nature Christ *himself*? or had he a double Self; one of which suffered, and the other did not? or will the *Pseudo-Athanasians* tell us, that *two Selves* are joined in one Person; as they say two *Natures* are? God has reveled to us a plain and intelligible doctrine; that the Divine Being, by whom he created us, came down from Heaven, and underwent Sufferings and Death for our Salvation: and the Christians have made it absolutely unintelligible, by their Refinements. For whereas there is not the least intimation through the whole Scripture, that by the words *Messiah, the Christ, the Son of Man, Jesus Christ, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Savior, Himself, &c.* is ever mean'd only a *Part* of the Messiah, a Part of Christ, a Part of the Son of Man, a Part of Himself, &c. and sometimes *one* part, and sometimes *another*; so that sometimes *one* thing is said of him, and sometimes the *direct contrary*: Can any thing be a greater proof than this, that some Christians have mistaken the *nature* of that Being? or, Can there be a better proof, that others have a  
*right*



*right opinion* of him, than by understanding the nature of his person in such a manner, as to render all the expressions in the Scripture which relate to him, plain and intelligible; in the same sense always, and in the natural and literal meaning; viz. That the *same person*, who was born into the world, in the days of *Herod*, and suffered and died; was also before *Abraham*, and *Abraham* saw his day; and that the *same person*, who preached by the Spirit, in the days of *Noah*; preached also to Mankind, in the reign of *Tiberius Cæsar*? To make them two distinct Persons, is to contradict the Scripture; which declares them to be *One* and the *same* Person: and to suppose the One Person which suffered, to be at the same time *impossible*, is to contradict the common sense and reason of Mankind; so far as to make the Revelation unintelligible and useless.

Again the Scripture mentions it as the highest instance of the love of God to Man; that he spared not his own Son, but freely gave him up for us all. But how inconsistent is this with the notion, that this supremacy of love consisted in the death of a *mere Man*; which those Christians are obliged to maintain, who believe Christ to be the *Supreme God*? Those very Christians, I say, who pretend to have the highest sentiments of Christ, and therefore exalt him to an equality with the Father; when they come to consider



consider his Death, that grand event, in which the infinite love of God was manifested to Mankind; find it impossible for them to maintain, that the Supreme God suffered and died: and are therefore forced to explaine this *infinity of love* to consist in the death and sufferings of a mere Man; thereby reducing him too *low*, as they had before exalted him too *high*, to be consistent with Scripture: For the Scripture declares the *Sufferer* to be the *Christ*; and the *Christ* to be the *very Person*, i. e. the *same intelligent Substance*, that came down from Heaven; and came not of himself, but the *Father sent* him. And *Isaiah* tells us, it was the *same Person* whom God would send, and would please to bruise and put to grief, that made his Soul an offering for sin, and poured out his Soul unto Death, and was rewarded, and divided the spoil with the strong(*q*). So that there is no more room, from the Scripture, for any such imagination, as that of *two intelligent Natures* in Christ; the one human, the other divine; the one passible, the other impassible; than to believe, there were *two Messiahs*; the one of them to suffer, and the other to be triumphant; the one the Son of David, and the other the Son of *Joseph of Ephraim* (*r*): for Christ is always spoken of, both in the Old and New Testament, as *one* and the *same Person*.

(*q*) Is. liii. 10, 11, 12.

(*r*) Lett. IV. 182.

But



But in direct opposition to this fundamental Article of Christianity; that the Son of God, *who came down from Heaven*, was the *same* Person who *suffered death* upon the Cross; Bishop Pearson says in support of his own Hypothesis, as follows: “We must not think so *low* of the *Essence* of the “Word; as to think it *subject* to the sufferings “of the Flesh (s):” And again, “the suffer- “ings of Christ were not the sufferings of his “Deity, of which *that* was *incapable*; but of his “Humanity, as unto which *that* was *inclinable*: “for the Divine Essence suffered not(t).” Thus the antient Christians argued upon Christ’s weeping over *Jerusalem*, [*quasi fletus Christo non conveniret*,] that it was not agreeable to his Character; upon which, they struck it out of their Copies(u). But his Lordship must distinguish very nicely; if he supposes it *below* the Dignity of the divine Nature of Christ, to *die*; and yet *not below* it, to be *born* of a Woman; and *live* in this World, subjected to the indignities which he received: for in truth no humiliation could be improper to be undertaken by any originate Being; which God should think proper to appoint him. By this method of reasoning, the Bishop falls into the very error which he combats with so much zeal; even the Heresy of *Socinus*, *Paul of Samosata*, and *Artemas*: for, if nothing suffered but

(s) Pearson, p. 147.  
 nop. Vol. iv. p. 1190.

(t) Ib. 188.

(u) Poli Syn-



the *human* nature, no other person suffered but a *mortal Man*.

By this we see; that the sufferings of that Person who came down from Heaven, which was to the *Jews* a stumbling-block, and to the *Greeks* foolishness; is still considered by the *Pseudo-Athanasians* in the same light: for which reason, though they allow it in *words*, yet they deny it in *fact*. But after all the sophistry used to disguise the Truth, it is infallibly certain; that, when God is said *to suffer* in the nature of Man, yet if God himself does not feel the pain, but Man only, it is the *Man alone that suffers*.

And yet, what is still more amazing; though his Lordship declares, that nothing suffered but the *Human Nature*, or a mere man; he lays the whole merit of Christ's sufferings upon their being the sufferings of *God*. I shall quote the Bishop's words, as being a person every way respectable; to shew the modern opinion on this point.

“ We know,” says the Bishop, “ that it is  
 “ impossible for the Blood of bulls and goats to  
 “ take away Sins; and we may well doubt,  
 “ how the Blood of him, that hath no other  
 “ nature than that of Man, can take away the  
 “ sins of other Men; there appearing no such  
 “ difference, as will shew a Certainty of the one,  
 “ and an Impossibility of the other: But since  
 “ we may be bought with a Price, well may we  
 “ believe the Blood of *Christ* sufficiently pre-  
 “ cious;



“cious; when we are assured, that it is the Blood  
“*of God*(*x*).”

This Argument is founded upon a notion, no less derogatory from the honour of God, than full of confusion in itself; *viz.* That God *could not* forgive the sins of Men, without an adequate and equivalent Satisfaction paid to his Justice; and that this could only be done by the Sufferings, and Death of Christ, who is the Supreme God: no other Satisfaction being *equivalent to the debt*. And therefore He *himself* suffered and died; and thereby satisfied *His own* justice and wrath against the sins of Men; and forgave them *freely*, upon receiving *full satisfaction* and payment. Or thus, in other words: The *Second* Person of the Trinity suffered, in order to satisfy the wrath of the *First* Person in the Trinity, for the sins of Men; which *First* Person, who *required* the satisfaction, is the *same* God as the *Second* Person, who *paid* it. The true Scripture Doctrine upon this Subject shall be hereafter explained; agreeable to Reason, and the common Principles of mankind; I shall only consider, at

(*x*) *Pearson*, p. 142. The learned and ingenious Mr. Lindsey quotes from Wetstein, in a note on Acts xx. 28, these words of Athanasius against Apollinaris; “the  
“Scriptures, as we read them, never use such expressions  
“as the *bloud of God*: Such daring flights we leave to  
“the Arians.” Second part of his apology, p. 202. Have our orthodox writers any better authority to take such daring flights than Athanasius or Arius?



present; whether the Blood spill'd was the Blood of the *Supreme* God, as his Lordship supposes.

Now, according to this Notion and Argument, if the Blood of *Christ* be not the Blood of *God*, not only in *word*, but in *fact*; it follows, that we may doubt how *his* Blood could *take away Sins*; when the Blood of bulls and goats *could not*. And yet the Bishop allows, that the Supreme God is not capable of Sufferings and Death; and says, that the Divine Nature of Christ suffered as little, as if it had not been conjoined to the Human Nature. From all which it inevitably follows; that, if Christ be the Supreme God, then either the Supreme God is *capable* of Sufferings, and *did suffer*; or else, that the Blood of Christ *did not* take away Sin: a very rash and false Dilemma.

And now, says the Bishop, the only difficulty will consist in this: "How we can say, that *God* "*did suffer*; when we profess the *Godhead suffered* "*not (y)*:" or, as he expresses it in another place, "the *Divine* Nature suffered not; but "*the Human* Nature only(z)." And this, he says, will meet with an easy Solution; if we consider the *intimate conjunction* of the divine and human Nature, and their union in the Person of the Son; for hereby those Attributes, which *properly belong* to the *one*, are given to the *other*.

(y) *Pearson*, p. 188.      (z) *Ib.* 192.

But



But this is not *true*; and does not answer the difficulty. For, in the first place, *Nature* is a mere abstract idea, and *incapable* of Suffering; whether it be divine or human: nothing can suffer, but a *Person*; that is, a living intelligent *Substance*, or *Agent*; a *Property*, or number of properties, (in which the Nature of every Being consists,) is *incapable* of it; and consequently, if it be said, two Natures are united in one Person, neither of these Natures can suffer; but only the Person, or intelligent conscious Being, to whom it belongs. If the *Person* does not suffer, there can be no suffering undergone; for to suppose suffering, and no person to suffer, is a contradiction. Bishop *Fowler* says; “ I do believe the Redemption of Mankind to be the  
 “ Redemption of the particular *Men* of all Man-  
 “ kind: nor can I understand, what the Re-  
 “ demption of *human Nature* can signify; in any  
 “ other sense: I could never tell, where univer-  
 “ sal Nature exists; but in the finest head-pieces  
 “ of Metaphysicians(*a*).” Therefore, if Christ be the Supreme God; the Person of the Supreme God did suffer, or it did not. If it be allowed, that he *did not suffer*; the question is given-up: and no other Being suffered, but a mortal Man; which the Bishop calls the *human Nature*, and *Cerintbus* calls the *Man Jesus*: and this is *Socini-*

(*a*) Reflexions on the examination of his discourse on the descent of the Man Jesus,



*anism.* And if it be said, the Supreme God *did suffer*; this is the doctrine of the *Patripassians* and *Sabellians*, and contrary to the principle, that the Supreme God is *impassible*: and to solve this contradiction, is no such easy matter.

If it be urged, as some have supposed; that not only the divine and human *Natures*, but the *Two Persons* also, the Logos, and the human Soul, were *united in one Person*: Let us consider, how *close* this union was; and the consequence of it.

It is remarkable, that the *Athanasian Creed* says; “There is *one Person* [ὑπόστασις] of the Father, and *another* of the Son.”—And the same Creed says; that “God and Man are One altogether—by *unity of Person*,” [ὑποστάσεως] Here then we find; that, (if *Hypostasis* means Person, as the Orthodox understand it, and the *English* translate it;) God and Man are more strictly united, than the Father and the Son: for the Father and Son are *different Persons*; but God and Man are *united in Person*: i. e. they are One and the same Person: And if they continued perfectly united; so that God and Man were *One Person at his Passion*, as well as *before it*; then the consequence must be; that, if *Man* suffered, *God* also suffered: for it will be a contradiction to say, that the *Human Person*, or Soul of Man suffered; and the *Divine Person*, or Logos, which was so united to it as to be the  
*same*



*same* Person, did not suffer; or that one knew the end of the world, and the other did not: because *Unity* of Person admits of no such distinction, as the *one* and the *other*. And in this sense, the Bishop's assertion must amount to this manifest absurdity; that the same *One Person* who suffered, did not suffer; and the same *One Person* who did know the end of the World, did not know it. And this his Lordship allows to be Fact; how unintelligible soever it may appear: For he supposes, that the name Christ signifies a passible and impassible Substance, in one Person; [*ἀπαθὲς καὶ παθητὴς ὁσίας ἐν μοναδικῷ προσώπῳ προσηγορίαν σημαντικὴν*.] a single Person, in a double Nature; impassible as God, and passible as Man(*b*).—Now, if it be not a Contradiction to assert, that Passibility and Impassibility can exist in the *same* Person, at the *same* time; we may assert or deny what we please. In like manner, with regard to Christ's not knowing the Day of Judgement it is to no purpose to say, that Christ consisted of two Natures in one Person; according to *one* of which he knew it, and according to the *other* he did not: for, if he knew it in *either* nature; it cannot be said of the Person of Christ, or the Son of Man, that He was *ignorant* of it. This will appear by a plain instance: A Man consists of a Body, and a Spirit; and a Spirit has not

(*b*) Art. iii. p. 163, 164.



flesh and bones: Can it therefore be asserted, that the Compound *Man* has not flesh and bones? By no means. It may be asserted, that *Man* has what *either* Nature has; but it cannot be denied, that he *has* what belongs to *either*. He may be said to think, because his Soul thinks; but it cannot be denied that he thinks, because the Body does not. It cannot therefore be said that *Christ* knew not; because the *human Soul* knew not: If he was personally ignorant, he was totally so in *both* Natures; and consequently could not, in either of his Natures, be the Supreme God.

But if the *literal* Unity of Person be not admitted; and we suppose, with the Bishop, that God and Man were not so strictly united, as to become *one single identical* Person; but only *joined* together: Then, what must become of the Prophecies? For let the conjunction be ever so intimate; yet, if the Prophecies relating to *one* Person are not fulfilled in that *same* Person: but in *another*, that is joined to him; it will justly be argued, that they have never been fulfilled, in the sense in which they were given; and, indeed, never properly fulfilled at all. If the Messiah be *one* Person, who was sent down from Heaven to suffer, and never did suffer; and the Christ who suffered was *another* Person, who himself never existed till he was born of the Virgin



gin *Mary*; the Prophecy of *Isaiah* has never been completed.

But there is no danger of this fatal consequence: for, if we follow the Bishop a little farther, we shall find; that there was no such conjunction of Natures ever made. He argues, that there was no *Union of Natures*; because there could be no conversion, or transubstantiation, of one into the other; nor commixtion, or confusion, of both into one: and that the two Natures kept their respective properties distinct(c). Now it follows, if the Substances were distinct; that is, if the Substance of the Soul, and the Divine Substance, were *unmixed*; and their Properties also were distinct; that the *Persons* must also be *distinct*: for there can be no meaning to the word *Person*, that is not comprehended in the words *Substance* and *Properties*. And therefore *Novatian*, in order to be consistent with himself, made no scruple to allow; that the Word and the Flesh were *commixed*: affirming, that Christ was not only *Man*, but *God*, according to the Scriptures; *Divinitate Sermonis in ipsâ concretione permixtâ* (d): And *Origen* says, the Humanity of Christ was exalted to such a degree of Divinity; not only by Communication of the Word, but also by its *Union*

(c) *Pearson*, p. 161. 188. (d) *Novat. de Trin. cap. ii. 19.*



and *Commixtion*; by which it became a *God*(*e*). But his Lordship supposes a *Union* of Persons, without any such *Commixtion*; which is impossible. For if we mean *any thing* by this Union of Persons or intelligent Beings, it cannot possibly be less than this; that they shall be susceptible of, and obnoxious to, the same Sensations and Reflexions, the same Pleasure or Pain, the same Knowledge or Ignorance. But the Bishop tells us, No: "The two Natures kept their Properties distinct(*f*)."  
 Now, if that were the case; so that the one should suffer Pain, while the other did *not*; the one should *know*, while the other was *ignorant*; 'tis plain, the Conjunction or Union of Persons must be only *imaginary* or *nominal*: For, as neither the divine nor human *Nature* can either feel or know, but the divine and human *Persons* only: to assert such an Union, is to assert, that the same Person *did suffer*, and *did not suffer*; *did know*, and *did not know*; at the same time: which is as plain a concession as can be made, that the Persons were not one and the same; but *different* and *distinct*: for knowing, and not knowing; feeling, and not feeling; are the strongest proofs of a *distinct Consciousness*, that can be given; and a distinct Consciousness is the strongest proof of a *distinct Personality*; and, consequently,

(*e*) *Contra Cels. Le Plat. Div. 31.*      (*f*) *Pearson, p.*  
 163.



there could be no such Union; as his Lordship contends for: Or, if it must be called a Conjunction and Union of Persons, to serve an Hypothesis; it is of such a nature, as to leave no difference between a *Conjunction* and a *Separation*. But, how intimate soever the Conjunction is supposed to be; yet, as long as the Persons can be so far distinguished the one from the other, that one may suffer, and the other be incapable of suffering; (which is a sufficient distinction to infer a Difference, and consequently a *plurality* of Persons;) the question will be, *Which* of them suffered; and *which* did not? And if the divine Person did not suffer, because he is the Supreme God, and incapable of suffering; then it could be only a mortal Man that suffered. So that, whether they be joined, or separate, or the same; if the divine Nature, or the Godhead, that is, in plain Words, *God* himself, the infinite, self-existent, intelligent Substance, did *not suffer*; but merely the *human Nature*, or the Humanity, that is, *Man*; it was not the Blood of *God*, but the Blood of *Man*: And so the Bishop's argument ends in the Doctrine of *Socinus*.

If it be said, that Christ is both God and Man; “*God*, of the Substance of the *Father*; “*begotten, before all Worlds*; and *Man*, of the “Substance of his *Mother*; *born in the World*(g);”

(g) Athan. Creed.



the same question will return: Was it *God*, begotten of the Substance of the *Father*, that suffered; or *Man*, born of the Substance of the *Mother*? To say it was *God* of the Substance of the *Father*, that suffered; is the Doctrine of *Sabellius* and the *Patripassians*: to say, it was only *Man*, of the Substance of the *Mother*; is the Heresy of *Soci-nus*: and to say, that *Christ* did not continue conjoined to *Jesus*, or the divine to the human Person, at his Passion; is the Heresy of *Cerinthus*. And besides, upon that Supposition, the Conjunction was dissolved; and consequently no Blood of *God* was spilled.

Lastly, if the *divine* Substance of *Christ* be impassible; and it was *Man* alone, who suffered; how can our Sins be said to be taken away by the Blood of *God*(*b*); who did not, and could not suffer? or by the Blood of *Christ*(*i*); if He be the Supreme God, as well as Man? It is manifest, the *Pseudo-Athanasians* cannot explain these Texts; which, upon the *Apollinarian* Scheme, are plain and easy. They are every way surrounded with Heresies; and, by flying from any one of them, unavoidably fall into an opposite one.

If it be alledged, as the Bishop speaks; that by this intimate Conjunction or Union, whatever is true of the *Human* Nature, may be said of the *Divine* Nature; and, *vice versa*, whatever

(*b*) Acts, xx. 28.      (*i*) Eph. i. 7.



is true of the *Divine* Nature, may be said of the *Human* Nature; by a commutation of Properties(*k*): and so *God* may be said to suffer; because *Man*, which He calls the Human Nature, suffered(*l*). I answer; that, by the same argument, every proposition in the New Testament, which relates to the Birth, Life, and Death of Christ, may be denied; and it may be proved, that Man did not suffer; because the Divine Nature did not suffer: and the Impassibility of *God* may be asserted of *Man*. And an argument, which proves each Side of a Contradiction equally; and asserts that we may say, what we know to be false and impious; must be mere Sophistry.

It may be farther observed; though the Bishop says, “By the intimate Conjunction of the Divine and Human Nature, those Attributes, which *properly belong* to the one, *are given* to the other—and therefore we may truly say, God is Man; &c.—and what belongs to the Human Nature, *may be spoken of* God; and the properties of the Human Nature, *may be attributed to the Son of God*; &c.” yet in the next paragraph, where he explains himself farther, he allows; that the *essential* properties of one

(*k*) Gregory Nyssen, in a Tract against Apollinaris, attempts to prove that the *Word* which appeared to the Patriarchs took flesh, and was so intimately united to the human nature, that what belongs to *God* is attributed to *Man*, Dupin, tom. 3. p. 226. (*l*) Pearson, 188.

Nature,



Nature, are not *really* communicated to the other Nature: &c.

And therefore, the most that can be made of this Commutation of Properties, as the Bishop calls it, is not any thing *real*; but only *verbal*: It is not a *Commutation of Properties*; for they are not changed: but only a *Commutation of words*; or an allowed Impropriety of Speech. And the Blood of *Man* is *Called* the Blood of *God*, though it be not so in *reality*; by the same liberty of speech, as when we say; that a *Man* is buried in the Grave: And the whole that the Bishop has advanced upon this argument, amounts to no more than this; that the liberty of speech allows us to say, that *God* suffered and died; because a *Man* suffered and died, to whom *God* was *once* conjoined: but it will by no means prove; that his Sufferings were the Sufferings of *that God* who was so conjoined, and who is declared to be *incapable* of suffering; but merely the Sufferings of a *Man*, whom he calls by the name of *God*. And thus the argument, however specious it may appear in *words*, is in *fact* a *Socinian* Doctrine; that nothing suffered, but a mere *Man*; whom, for certain reasons, he calls by the name of *God*. Whereas the *Apollinarian* Doctrine, which is the Doctrine of the New Testament, declares the Suffering to have been undergone by the Divine Person *himself*; who  
came



came down from Heaven to be born of the Virgin *Mary*.

To shew the Fallacy of his Lordship's argument in another Light, let us consider a parallel Case; and examine the same way of reasoning with regard to Man, consisting of Soul and Body. It must be allowed, that in common speech we say; such a *Man* is gone to Heaven; or such a *Man* lies in the Grave. Here by the word *Man*, we sometimes mean the *Body*, and sometimes the *Soul*; and use the word *Man* indiscriminately, for either or both(*m*). But does it follow; because I am allowed to speak in this improper and indeterminate manner, when I only mean to distinguish *one Man from another*; that I can use the same word indiscriminately, when I want to ascertain the *different Parts* of which the same Man consisted; or to inform another Person, perhaps an ignorant *Indian*, which it is that is gone to Heaven; the *Body*, or the *Soul*; and which it is that remains in the Grave? Can I then say, in the words of *Æneas*; *Animamque sepulchro condimus*(*n*)? No: I must then answer, more precisely and determinately; that the *Soul* is gone to *Heaven*, and the *Body* lies in the *Grave*; and not suppose a Commutation of Properties, and say; the *Body* is gone to *Heaven*, and the *Soul* lies in the *Grave*. And if I could say so, with-

(*m*) Note XXX.      (*n*) *Æn.* iii. 67.



out an Impropriety; (that is, if such a way of speaking were allowable;) yet it would be no proof that the *Body* was actually gone to *Heaven*, and the *Soul* was in the *Grave*; but only an instance of the great liberty of speech which was taken and allowed; of using the words *Soul* and *Body* so indiscriminately and unphilosophically.

But if a Man may assert, that the *Supreme God* suffered; when he declares him, at the same time, to be *incapable* of suffering; and this, only because the *Man* who suffers may be called improperly by the name of *God*; and argue, that the merit of the Blood which this *Man* shed, consisted in its being the Blood of the *Supreme God*; this puts an end to all farther argument upon the Subject; since both sides of a Contradiction are here plainly asserted; viz. that the *Supreme God* *did* suffer; and at the same time *did not* suffer, but was incapable of suffering; and that the Blood of *Man* was the Blood of *God*: though it is allowed, at the same time, that it was not *really* the Blood of *God*, but only *called* so; being in *reality* the Blood of *Man*. And it appears to me impossible to get clear of this Contradiction, as long as Christ is believed to be the *Substance* of the Self-existent God, which is *impassible*; and yet to have suffered on the Cross. For the two Propositions are absolutely inconsistent.

And



And it by no means solves or lessens the Difficulty; to say, as the *Pseudo-Atbanasians* do; that the *Divine Person* suffered in the *Human Nature* only: for the question here is, not *in what Nature* he suffered; but, whether he suffered *at all*. A Being that is impassible can no more suffer in one Nature, than in another. The plain question is this only, Whether the Supreme God felt pain? If he did not feel pain he did not suffer.

As the Bishop's Opinion on this subject appears to me, for these reasons, to destroy the fundamental Article of the *Christian Religion*; i. e. the Death and Sufferings of the *identical Messiah* who came down from Heaven: So *Dr. Waterland's* Opinion seems also to destroy the first and fundamental Article of *Natural Religion*; viz. the Belief of One self-existent and unoriginate Supreme God, the Governor of the Universe. He tells us; "He has nothing  
" to say, why the Son *might not* have been the  
" Father; but that *in fact* he is *not*: and that  
" there was no Impossibility, in the nature of  
" the thing, but that the Father himself might  
" have acted the *Ministerial Part*(o)."

Now, as the Doctor sees no Impossibility, but that the Son might be the Father; it is plain to me,

(o) *Philal. Cant.* 46. and 2d Pt. 12, 13. *Waterland's* Second defence, 177.



that in *his* notion or idea of the Supreme God and Father of the Universe, he leaves-out the Attribute of *absolutely necessary Self-existence*: For if he did not do so, it must have appeared to him as clear as the light; that an originated Being, a Being who was *begotten*, could not possibly be *self-existent*, or *necessarily existent*; in an absolute Sense: For to suppose, that necessary existence is *possible to have been*, where in truth and nature it *is not*; is to suppose it not to be *necessary* existence; but *precarious* existence. If it had been possible for the Son to have been necessarily existent, i. e. self-existent, he would have been so: and could not possibly have been otherwise: And if it had been *possible* for the Father *not* to have been *necessarily* existent; he *could not possibly* have been *necessarily* existent, or self-existent(*p*).

'Tis true, that Dr. *Waterland* says; “ the  
 “ Father is *God*, in the strict sense of *necessary*  
 “ *existing*, as opposed to *precarious* existence; and  
 “ the Son *God*, and the Holy Ghost *God*; in  
 “ the same sense of the word *God*.” But this is not sufficient to prove them all Three to be the *Supreme* God; because the Father is God, in a higher sense of the word *God*, than is here used: For when Dr. *Waterland* speaks of the necessary existence of the Son and Holy Ghost, *as opposed*

(*p*) Phil. Cant. p. 13.



*to precarious existence*; he does not mean, that they are *self-existent*, and *unoriginate*, as the Father is; but only that they are *necessarily* generated, or derived, or emanant, from the Father's Substance; and, in this sense of *necessary existence*, if there be one there may be one thousand, or ten thousand, necessarily existent. Whereas, necessary existence, considered in the *highest*, i. e. an *absolute* sense, as it belongs to God the Father; means *unoriginate*, *independent*, *underived*, *Self-existence*: which is an Attribute of the First Cause only; and is incapable of being communicated by Generation, Derivation, or any way whatever. And therefore, in the Sense in which Dr. *Waterland* supposes the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be all *necessarily existent*; in the *strict sense of necessary existence*, as opposed to *precarious existence*; and to be God, in the *same* sense of the Word: he leaves-out the idea of absolute, unoriginate Self-existence; and therefore does not consider the word *God* in the *highest* sense of the Word, in which sense it can be applied to no other Being but the *Supreme God*; i. e. the Father only: *viz.* that he is *un-originate*, and *self-existent*.

And this is the fundamental Error of Dr. *Waterland*; which runs through his whole Book. All his Mistakes arise from setting-out wrong at first; for when once he had formed his idea of a *Supreme God*, without including *Self-exist-*



ence in it; he could easily suppose, that the Attributes of the *Supreme God* were communicable to the *Son*, and were actually communicated to him; and thereby the *Son* became equal in his Perfections to the *Father* himself, from whom he received them; and so the Perfections being the *same* in each, and the Substance also supposed the *same*; the *Father* might be the *Son*, and the *Son* the *Father*; for any thing this learned Christian saw to the contrary: And he might, by the same way of reasoning, as easily have supposed a thousand Supreme Beings equal with the Father, as only one or two; for it is no Contradiction at all to imagine, that all communicable Attributes may be actually communicated by the Supreme God, to as many Persons as he pleases. And this was the more easy for him to believe; because he confined the meaning of the word *God* to the *Substance* of God only; and consequently could believe every Being to be God, that partook of that *Substance*: and, as he knew nothing at all about the Substance of God, he might as easily believe a thousand different Persons to partake of it, and so become Gods; as one only. Nay, according to his notion, the number *must* be infinite: For, if the Son did receive from God the Father, *by a necessity of Nature*, equal Perfection and Plenitude in every respect; (which is Dr. *Waterland's* opinion :) then the Second and Third Persons,



Persons, having the same Perfection and Plenitude of Nature, must unavoidably produce as many more; and so on, *ad infinitum*(*q*).

The Doctor therefore, who could see no difficulty at first, in supposing a Supreme God, without his essential and peculiar Attribute of *Self-existence*; could easily suppose all that followed, as the natural consequences of his first position. And the only difficulty he seemed sensible of, was this; how the *communicable* Attributes should be actually *communicated* to two other Persons, who had them not by Nature; and yet those *other* Persons, to whom they were communicated, should be the *same God* that communicated them. If he communicated them to his *own* Person, this was no proper *Communication*; for he had them before: and if he communicated them to two *other* Persons, then there must be *three* equally Supreme Persons that govern the Universe; or three equally Supreme Gods: And how this could be consistent with the Scripture Doctrine; which declares that *God is One, Jehovah is One*; was a great difficulty. But this is answered by him in as extraordinary a manner, as such an unaccountable System must be supposed to require; *viz.* “That no certain principle of Individuation ever *has been*, or *can be fixed*.” That is, when taken out of scholastic terms; that we never *did*, and never *can*

(*q*) Note XVI.



know, what we mean by One ; or how to distinguish One from more than One. This is just like the argument brought by *Cyril* and others, in defence of a Trinity of Three separate Beings : in which they assert Three Men to be only One Man. But if we do not know the difference between One and Three, it is time to have done with all disputes whatever ; for we must be utterly incapable to judge of Truth and Falseness. Thus the *Unity* of God is left to follow his *necessary existence* ; and these two principal fences being betrayed to the enemy ; the System of Natural Religion is laid open to *Polytheism*, on the one side ; and *Atheism*, on the other. For, if we have no principle of Individuation ; many Gods may, for aught we know, be the *One* God we are commanded to worship ; as Dr. *Cudworth* has observed : or, if there be only Three of these ; and these are all supposed to be *equal* ; there can be no One of these above the other Two ; and consequently no *Supreme God* at all ; but the τὸ πᾶν. Or thus : if no reason can be given, why an *unoriginate* Being might not be *originate* ; there can be no proof of the existence of any self-existent and unoriginate Being at all : For, if there be not some *ground* or *reason of existence*, in the very Nature of the First Cause ; why he exists rather than not ; which ground or reason of existence is not in any other Being in the Universe : then he may, for any thing we can



can prove to the contrary, cease to exist; without any ground or reason for it: For if he could exist, without any ground or reason why he existed; he may, without any ground or reason, cease to exist. Whereas all other Beings, whose existence was effected by a *Cause* which produced the Effect; can only cease to exist by a *Cause* which shall produce contrary Effect: and consequently, they are less precarious in their Existence than God himself; which is absurd and blasphemous.

Lastly, to shew how far these principles will carry a Man contrary to all *Revelation*, as well as *Natural Religion*; it is from hence that Dr. *Waterland* concludes; that the first Generation of the Son (which he allows to be the most proper Filiation) is a mere *Co-existence* with the Father; and not any *Derivation* from him: And Mr. *Cummins* argues to the same purpose: “ For  
 “ having taken notice, that the Fathers not on-  
 “ ly use the terms, *Principle, Fountain, Root*;  
 “ but plainly assert, that the Father was the  
 “ original *Author* and *Cause*, of the Son; and  
 “ superior to him, in respect of *Causality*; and  
 “ that by such expressions they gave advantage  
 “ to the *Arians*: he declares his Opinion; that  
 “ such Words ought to be exploded out of the  
 “ Christian Theology: as having no foundation  
 “ either in Reason or Revelation. For (saith he)  
 “ if the Son of God be *God himself*, and of the  
 “ same



“ *same Essence* with the Father ; to which Essence  
 “ it belongs to be *uncaused*, or to exist *necessarily* ;  
 “ He (the Son) can have *no Cause* or Author ;  
 “ but is as much *without Original*, or beginning  
 “ of Being, as the Father himself. On the other  
 “ hand ; whatever hath a *proper Cause* or Origi-  
 “ nal of Being, must have Limits of Being ; and  
 “ that can never enter into our notion of  
 “ God(*r*).”

Thus, upon the principle that Christ is of the  
 same Substance with the Father ; which the Fa-  
 thers, who first introduced it into the Christian  
 Theology, looked upon as a harmless and or-  
 thodox opinion ; one Error has followed upon  
 another, almost unavoidably ; till the Sufferings  
 of Christ, who came down from Heaven, have,  
 for a long time, been denied : and the modern  
 Metaphysicians have at length completed the  
*Antichristian System* ; by proving from it, that  
 there neither was a Father, who begat ; nor a  
 Son, that was begotten by him : but the Son is  
 as unoriginate as the Father himself.

The Opinions of the Fathers and Doctors of  
 the Church being so various and unsatisfactory,  
 I shall now lay before you the Reasoning of  
 those ; who have no dependence upon them,  
 but take their Opinions directly from the Scrip-  
 ture.

(*r*) *Bennet's Iren.* 21. *Cummins,* 223.

These



These all agree; that Christ has said to the *Jews*, in one place, *I and my Father are One*: and, in another place, *my Father is greater than I*. In some places, *He* is called *God*; and in other places, the *Father* is said to be the *only true God*, and the *God of Christ*; and Christ himself calls the Father *his God*. And the question is at present, as it always has been in former ages, how these Texts are to be reconciled?

Those who suppose the Son to be equal to the Father, argue; that, when God and Christ are said to be One, (*in*, *unum*, *One Thing*;) the meaning must be, that they are *One God*: and therefore, when it is said, the Father is greater than I; the Son must be considered as speaking of himself, in the capacity of a mere *Man*. For if he were considered as *God*, he must be considered as the *Supreme God*; (because there is but *One God*;) and there can be no greater than He. And since they are the *same God*, and yet cannot be the *same Person*; (for if they were, there would be but *One Person*; and consequently neither Son nor Holy Ghost); their Unity must consist in their being the *same Substance(s)*: For it can consist no where else; there being *no other* Unity, but that of Substance or Person. Whereas, if Christ be neither the *same Substance*, nor the *same Person*; he can be no God at all, but

(s) Note XXXI.

T

a Crea-



a *Creature*: and it is Idolatry to worship a *Creature*; and consequently their Adversaries are Idolaters.

Those, on the contrary, who believe the Son to be *inferior* to the Father, as being *originate* and *begotten* of the Father; reply to this—first, that it is highly improbable, when Christ said, *my Father is greater than I*; that he should mean to inform his Disciples, that the eternal *God*, Crëator of the whole World, was greater than a mortal *Man*, born of a Woman.

2. They affirm; that Christ is not spoken-of in Scripture, sometimes as the Supreme God, and sometimes as a mere Man; sometimes as to his Divinity, and sometimes as to his Humanity; but always in one and the same Character: i. e. as one and the same Person; who came down from Heaven and was incarnate.

3. That although Scripture declares the Father and Son to be *ev*, one *Thing*; yet it neither declares them to one *God*, nor one *Person*, nor one *Substance*; all these Interpretations being merely human: And therefore, they have the same right to assert, that it does not mean one *God*, or one *Substance*; as the Athanasians have to assert, against the *Sabellians*, that it does not mean one *Person*.

4. That the same word *ev*, One, here used concerning God and Christ; is used in other Parts of Scripture, to signify the Unity between  
the



the Disciples of Christ; that They may be <sup>ἐν</sup>, One Thing, even as the Father and Son are <sup>ἐν</sup>, One Thing. And in these places it is used in a third Sense; which can neither mean Unity of Substance, nor of Person; And therefore it is a false Conclusion, that because it *does not* mean Unity of Person; it *must* mean Unity of Substance: because it *may* mean, as it does in several parts of Scripture, Unity of Will, Design, Power, &c. as it does here; where the Unity is said to be [*καθώς*,] of the same Nature, as between the Father and the Son; and so it is understood by Calvin and Beza.

5. They affirm, that it is rash and impious to declare; that Christ cannot be *God*, except he be the *self-existent God*; because the Scripture declares him to be *God*, and yet to be the *Son of God*: And consequently, he is not the *self-existent God*; but the begotten *Son* of the *self-existent God*: otherwise, he must be his own Father; and his own Son.

Lastly, they say; that, in whatever Sense it is said, that *God* and *Christ* are *One*, and that *Christ* is *God*; it will not make an Equality, or Unity, between the *Father* and the *Holy Ghost*; who is neither plainly called *God*, nor said to be *One* with the *Father*, any where in Scripture.

They conclude, therefore, for themselves; that they are not Idolaters, because they believe and worship but one *Supreme God*; supposing



the Son to be *God*, in such an inferior sense of the word, as is consistent with the Scripture; which declares him to be *originate* and *begotten*; and considering the Government of the Universe as a Monarchy under one Person supreme over all. And against their Adversaries they allege; that to suppose the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be each of them *God*, in the *highest* Sense of the Word; is to suppose them all *unoriginate* and *self-existent*: and to worship each of them as *supreme God*, is Tritheism.

From what I have now said, I mean to conclude, in the first place; that the Christian Doctrine of the *Trinity*, which by false representation hath been so long a stumbling-block to Jews, Mohammedans, and Deists, being looked upon as inconsistent and idolatrous; has nothing, in the *genuine* Scripture account of it, that is subject to any such objection.

As to the Word itself, indeed; it is well known, that it is not used in the Scripture; and it must be owned, it was very much disliked by some of the Reformers; who looked upon it as a relick of Popery. *Martin Luther* says; “The  
“ word *Trinity* sounds oddly, and is a human  
“ invention; it were better to call Almighty  
“ God, *God*, than *Trinity*.” And *John Calvin*  
says, “I like not this Prayer, O holy, blessed,  
“ and glorious *Trinity*; it favours of Barbarity—  
“ The word *Trinity* is barbarous, insipid, pro-  
“ fane;



“fane; a *human* invention, grounded on no  
 “Testimony of God’s Word; the Popish God,  
 unknown to the Prophets and Apostles(*t*).”

But it may be answered to all this; that, so long as the Word is understood in a sense agreeable to the *Unity of Jehovah*, and the fundamental Principles of Christianity; it can furnish no argument against the truth of that religion.

In the next place I would have you observe; that the Doctrine which you accuse the Christians of holding, *viz.* that *Jesus Christ* is the *supreme God*, is so far from being a doctrine of the new Testament; that it is absolutely inconsistent with the whole Christian system: upon which account those that hold it are obliged either to give up the fundamental principles of Christianity, or to conceal themselves in mystery and darkness. And Dr. *Whitby* tells us, “In  
 “fine, this Doctrine that the Father, Son, and  
 “Holy Ghost, are of one and the same indivi-  
 “dual and numerical Essence, seems to bur-  
 “lesque the Holy Scriptures, or give them an  
 “uncouth and absurd sense; from the beginning  
 “of the Gospel to the end of the Epistle.” And this he shews in several instances(*u*).

I have now pointed-out to you the most remarkable among the various and opposite opi-

(*t*) Unit. Tracts, vol. I. last Tr. p. 17. Luther’s *Postil*. major Dominic. Calvin admon. I. ad Polonos.

(*u*) Whitby’s last Thoughts, p. 51. &c.



nions of the Christians; from the beginning of their Disputes upon the Trinity, and the use of that Word in the Christian Church: in order to discover, whether there were not some one opinion among them consistent with the Prophecies, that the Messiah, who came down from Heaven, should suffer Pain and Death; and it appears, that such a belief was once held by the first Fathers of the Church; before the rise of the *Arian* Controversy. But when the Christian Church became corrupted by the *Platonic* Philosophy; and the Corruptions which were then introduced were established by human Authority, at the Council of *Nice*, under the *pretended* influence of the Holy Ghost; (when the Son of God was decree'd to be of the same generical Substance with the Father, and consequently impassible :) this fundamental article was lost by degrees, throughout all the Churches in *Christendom*; the Christ that came down from Heaven, and was incarnate, and ought to have suffered according to the Prophets, was looked upon to be incapable of suffering; and the human nature only, that is, a mere *Man*, who did not come down from Heaven, is now generally supposed to be the Person who suffered; according to the Heresies of *Cerintbus* and *Socinus*. And this Doctrine seems at present to prevail so far over the Truth, which is now looked-upon as Heresy; that nothing but a direct appeal from human  
Au-



Authority to the Scripture, can ever recover the long-lost Truth; for the Scripture is the Rock, upon which Christianity was first built; and the only Foundation, that is able to support the Superstructure; and of which a man may safely say, *ὅς πᾶς ὧν, καὶ τὴν γῆν κινήσω*. and it is the everlasting Gospel, and not the decrees of *Nice*, or *Dort*, or *Trent*, or the Church of *England*; by the preaching of which the Kingdoms of the Earth shall become the Kingdom of God and his Christ(x).

It is the *genuine* Christianity of the Scriptures, which I have embraced; and not the *artificial* divinity of the Scholes, or Councils, or particular Churches. What I find in the *New Testament*, that I believe; but what is not to be proved from thence, I look-upon as no Article of my Faith; and by this means clear my hands at once of all the Errors, which have been introduced into Christianity at several times by authorities which are merely human; and preclude almost all the material objections, that have ever been brought against it; either by Deists, or others.

In the mean-time, as *Our* Religion is not answerable for the Doctrine of the *Talmud*, and the Traditions of the Masters; so neither do I look upon Christianity to be answerable for the Doctrines of the *Fathers* and *Councils*: most of which have been established by Vote, and Riot, and the Humour of the Times, and the Deference

(x) Rev. xiv. 6. Sir Is. Newton on the Proph. 250.



to Popes and Emperors, and the then reigning systems of Politics; rather than by the Authority of the Word of God(y). I confine myself therefore in this Apology merely to a defense of the Doctrines of the New Testament; and know no Authority, but that of *Christ and his Apostles*. And indeed I would not pay our own Rabbins so bad a compliment; as to submit to any *other* human Authority, after having once rejected *Theirs*.

This was what the learned *Limborch* was obliged so often to repeat, in his *Amica Collatio cum erudito Judæo*; and what every man will find it necessary to observe, if he does not write for a Party; and determine to defend his principles at all events; *per fas atque nefas*: which has already done Christianity such an infinite prejudice.

In your answer therefore to these Papers, I must forewarn you, in the Words of Mr. *Limborch* to *Orobio*; what kind of arguments to use, and what to reject. *Omittamus particulares doctorum opiniones, voces ac loquendi phrasas in scriptura nunquam usurpatas, quarum defensionem in me non suscipio(z)*. Let us leave the particular opinions of the learned; words and phrases, which are not used in Scripture; the defense of which I do not undertake: And again, *Nos hic autem solummodo inquirimus, quid D. Christus ejusque Apost-*

(y) See the VIIIth Letter.

(z) Basil Ed. p. 555.



*toli credi ab hominibus, ut salutem consequantur, præceperint ;—non quid posteriorum seculorum homines auctoritate humana definiverint ; quorum decreta fidei Christianæ regula non sunt, sed sola verba Θεόπνευστα, quæ in Apostolorum Scriptis reperiuntur(a).*

We only inquire what our Lord Christ and his Apostles commanded to be believed as necessary to Salvation, not what men of later ages decree'd by human Authority: whose decrees are not the rule of Christian Faith, but only the inspired words which are found in the Writings of the Apostles.

“ It is a most equitable rule,” says Bishop Hoadly, the great Patron of the civil and ecclesiastical Liberties of Mankind ; “ not to lay  
“ upon the Religion of Christ *that which he*  
“ *never himself put into it*: because it was *He*  
“ *himself*, that was to deliver it from the Fa-  
“ ther ready framed ; and because he never gave  
“ authority, even to the apostles themselves,  
“ to make any Addition to that Scheme of Doc-  
“ trine and Salvation which He delivered to  
“ Them.(b)” And Mr. Chillingworth says, to the  
same purpose ; “ The Bible alone is the Religion  
“ of Protestants: and neither the Doctrine of  
“ *Luther* or *Calvin*, or *Melancthon*, nor the Con-  
“ fession of *Augusta* or *Geneva*, nor the Catechism  
“ of *Heidelberg*, nor the Articles of the Church

(a) Test. Scrip. c. viii. 599.  
mons, p. 179.

(b) Hoadly's 16 Ser-



“ of *England*, nor the Harmony of the Protestant  
 “ Confession; but that wherein they all agree  
 “ with a greater Harmony, as a perfect Rule of  
 “ their Faith and Actions; and that is, the  
 “ BIBLE; the BIBLE is the only Religion of  
 “ Protestants(*c*).”

And Sir *Isaac Newton* says; “ The Authority  
 “ of Emperors, Kings, and Princes, is *Human*;  
 “ the Authority of Councils, Synods, Bishops,  
 “ and Presbyters, is *Human*; the Authority of  
 “ the Prophets is *Divine*, and comprehends the  
 “ Sum of Religion; and if an Angel from Hea-  
 “ ven preach any other Doctrine, let him be ac-  
 “ cursed(*d*).”

To this let me add the Confession of Faith of  
 the reformed Churches in *France*; which spe-  
 cifies the Dangers, that Protestants are liable to,  
 and ought particularly to guard against—It is  
 not lawful for Men, nor yet for Angels them-  
 selves, either to add to, or to diminish from,  
 or to alter it; (*viz.* the Scripture;) neither may  
 Antiquity, nor Customs, nor Multitude, nor  
 Judgments, nor human Wisdom, nor definitive  
 Sentences, nor Edicts, nor Decrees, nor Coun-  
 cils, nor Visions, nor Miracles, be brought in  
 Opposition to it: but rather, on the contrary,  
 all other Things ought to be examined, regu-  
 lated, and reformed by it(*e*). And Mr. *Charles*

(*c*) Rel. of Prot. c. vi. § 56.      (*d*) On the Proph.  
 p. 14.    (*e*) Daillé's Use of the Fathers, part 2, p. 129.



*Drelincourt* quotes the same Words, which he says, “ their Ancestors presented to their Kings  
“ of glorious Memory;” and adds— “ they who  
“ are of another Faith, are not of our Religion;—  
“ and—to oblige one’s-self to believe without  
“ exception, whatever was believed in any age  
“ whatever, after that of the Apostles, is to place  
“ *Men* upon the Throne of *God*; and transfer to  
“ the Creature the Honour and Glory which  
“ belongs to the Creator.”—“ We have often,”  
says he, “ protested, and do again protest, in  
“ the face of Heaven and Earth; that we believe  
“ nothing at all necessary to the Salvation of our  
“ Souls, which is not found *clearly* or *expressly*  
“ in the Word of God contained in the Scrip-  
“ tures; or is not taken from thence by *evident*  
“ and *necessary* Consequences(*f*).”

And the Church of *England* speaks the same Language: telling us in the Twentieth Article, That the Church can ordain nothing, *contrary to* Scripture; nor enforce any thing *besides* Scripture, for necessity of Salvation; and in the Twenty-first Article, That whatever is ordained even by a general Council, and not taken out of Scripture, hath no Strength or Authority; and consequently, whenever the Church *mistakes* the Sense of Scripture, her *Authority* is *void*.

(*f*) Du Faux Visage de l’Antiquité, p. 8, 7, 5.



I have now completed the whole of my Apology, as far as I designed to do in this Letter; in which I proposed to clear myself from the Aspersions, which have been cast upon my Character; as if I had quitted my belief of the one God *Jehovah*, and joined myself to the Tritheists. Whereas it appears to me, and I think I have proved; that the Christian Doctrine of the *Trinity*, as it is reveled in the New Testament, is consistent with the Doctrine of the *Unity*, as reveled by *Moses*; and I shall shew in my next Letters, that it is so explained by the most antient and most eminent among the Christians themselves. And as to the Idolatry of the Christian Church, and all the Errors of the grand Apostasy; which have lasted so many ages, and which I find my friends object to me; they are so far from forming any Argument against my embracing the Christian Religion, that they appear to me a very strong Confirmation of its Truth; by the Accomplishment of those Prophecies, which foretold that the Christian Church should be so polluted and defaced. And indeed, I look-upon Christianity in so very different a light from that of a Religion opposite to our own; that I find it to be the Completion of ours in its most material Articles, to wit, the Return of the visible *Jehovah*, or Angel of the Covenant, to dwell among us; and the Introduction of the New Covenant



Covenant which he made with us, so plainly foretold in our own Scriptures(g). And upon this account I shall undertake to prove, in my Fourth Letter; that if *Christianity* is not *true*, *our Religion* must be *false*.

To conclude: What the Scheme of Providence hath been from the beginning, and will continue to be to the end of Things, I confess it is my desire to know; as far as God hath thought proper to revele it: and I look-upon it as my duty to study his Revelation, and follow it whithersoever it leads me. And I am persuaded, that no Man will ever comprehend it; who does not endeavour to *enlarge his Mind*, by the same Spirit of universal Benevolence and Love; by which the whole Scheme was at first planned, and has ever since been directed, by God the Father; and executed by his Son—to *throw-off* all regard to party and prejudice, and sets of Texts appropriated to particular Notions—to *understand* all the Doctrines of it, whether they favour Christians, Jews, or Heathens, (for the same *Jehovah* is God over all) in a manner consistent with one another, and with the common sense and reason of Mankind;—and *to see* how they all tend to the same great Event; when the Powers of Heaven shall be shaken, and the Kingdoms of the Earth shall

(g) Zech. ii. 10, 11, &c.



become the Kingdom of God and his Christ. For till he sees things in this Order, Perfection, and Consistency, he will have but a very imperfect Notion of the Christian Religion.

The END of the FIRST LETTER.



---

# N O T E S

A N D

## I L L U S T R A T I O N S.

I. p. 4. **T**HE second Article of *Sepher Ikkarim* is this :  
I believe with a perfect Faith, that the  
Crëator (whose Name be Blessed) is *one* ;  
and that *such* an Unity, as is in Him, can be found in  
*none other* : and that he alone hath been our God, is, and  
ever shall be. See Dr. *Lancelot Addison's* State of the *Jews* ;  
p. 17. 18. 26. 27. 28.

II. p. 4. Here it may be observed ; that, though the  
*Athanasian Creed* tells us, *each person of the Trinity is both*  
*God and Lord, of himself* ; yet the Christians allow of no  
more Gods than one : using the word *God*, as it is used in  
the Holy Scriptures, in different senses ; sometimes to sig-  
nify *Jehovah*, and sometimes *Elohim*, or *Adonai*, but *one*  
only to be *Jehovah* ; i. e. the Father to be the only *God*,  
in the highest sense of the word, as being unoriginate and  
self-existent ; and the Son and Holy Ghost, in a lower  
sense of the word, as being both originate. See Note  
XXIX.

III. p. 8. Thus Dr. *L. Addison* observes, in his account  
of the State of the *Jews*, p. 14 : “ The Bible, the rule of  
“ all



“all Reformation, though it be not denied the people’s  
 “reading;” (among the *Jews* in *Africa*;) “yet the giv-  
 “ing the sense thereof belongs only to the Masters; in  
 “whose interpretation of the text, the vulgar, upon pain  
 “of excommunication, are bound to acquiesce. This  
 “was told me, as an *Arcanum Judaismi*, by *Aaron Ben*  
 “*Netas*; a person not unlearned in their law.” What  
 the consequence of this excommunication may be, even in  
 a Christian country; see under the article *Acosta* [*Uriel*] in  
*Bayle’s Dictionary*. Nor are there any *Jews* (in *Africa*) to  
 be met with; who adhere to the old Bible, without *Talmud*  
 traditions. The *Talmud* is as much the Bible of the *Jews*;  
 as the Council of *Trent* is the Bible of the Papists. The  
 only people among the *Jews*, who do not thus presump-  
 tuously impose the interpretations of Men as the word of  
 God, are those of the Synagogue of the *Samaritans* at *Sichem*;  
 whom *Cunæus* (de *Repub. Hebr.* p. 353) speaks of as fol-  
 lows: “*Est tamen eorum (Judæorum) factio quædam corda-*  
 “*tior; ii sunt Karaitæ, qui, spretis hominum placitis, Tal-*  
 “*mudica præcepta pro nugamentis habent; & nihil admittunt,*  
 “*nisi sacri codicis contentum. Sed id hominum genus cæteris*  
 “*Judæis invisissimum est. Itaque cum sint oppido pauci, sed*  
 “*ad unum omnes ditissimi; filias suas cum dote summâ vix*  
 “*dare nuptum queant. Hoc, quia ab aliis proditum est, non*  
 “*referrem; nisi persæpe movisset risum.*”

There is a letter from these *Karaites* to *Joseph Scaliger*,  
 in a book entitled *Antiquitates Orientalis Ecclesiæ*, &c. p.  
 122; in which they accuse the *Jews* of thus deserting the  
 word of God, and trusting in human traditions and inter-  
 pretations. “*Nos credimus Domino Mosi & Monti Gerizim,*  
 “*& in eo adoramus Dominum; verum Judæi aliis confidunt:*  
 “*nos nequaquam facimus, nisi juxta mandata Domini in lege*  
 “*sancta per manum Mosi; super quem Pax in æternum.*  
 “*Judæi vero deserunt quod dicit Dominus in lege, & faciunt*  
 “*quemadmodum dicunt eis sapientes & seniores eorum.*”

But so great is the inveteracy of the *Jews* to this Sect,  
 and all others who refuse obedience to the *Talmud* tradi-  
 tions;



tions; that they think nothing too bad for them: looking upon them as deniers of the Law, and only fit to be murdered. *Maimonides*, that learned Writer, reckons every one among the Impugners of the Law (*Legis abnegatores*) *qui negat expositionem*, (*Legis scriptæ*;) *seu legem ore traditam*; *atque ejus interpretes falsi arguit: uti Zadoc & Baitos. Teschuva*, Cap. 3. The like is said in *Massachet Avoda Zara*, Cap. 2, &c. *Hujusmodi obstinatum Traditionis oppugnatorem impune cujuslibet manu trucidari posse asserit, in Tract Mamrim sive de Rebellibus*; (Cap. 3.) *etiamsi nulli adfuerint Testes, nullum judicii vel indicii præcesserit examen; hocque magni beneficii & meriti loco ducit.* Not. *Vossii*, in *Maimon. de Fund. Legis*, p. 132. See *Prideaux's Conn.* Vol. I. p. 322. and 415.

IV. p. 14, 75. *That the Christians have never agree'd upon the sense of the Propositions they disputed about.*—*Cyril and Athanasius* define a Person to be “*Essentia cum suis quibusdam proprietatibus, ab iis quæ sunt ejusdem speciei numero differens.*” *Cudworth*, 603.—*Dr. Waterland* allows Person and Intelligent Being to be the same, p. 350; Reply to *Dr. Waterland's Defence*, 352.—*Mr. Locke* defines Person, to be a thinking, intelligent Being; that has Reason and Reflection, and can consider itself as itself. *Hum. Und. B. 2, c. 27, 9.*—*Mr. Bidle* says; By Person, I mean, as Philosophers do, *Suppositum Intelligens.* *Unitar. Tracts*, Vol. I. p. 17.

The *Greeks* said, there were three *Hypostases*; which the *Latins* rejected, as signifying three generical Substances; and accused the *Greeks* of *Arianism*. The *Latins* used the word *Person*; the *Greeks* rejected that; as signifying no real, but only a modal distinction: and accused the *Latins* of *Sabellianism*. *Athanasius* summoned a Council upon it, to quiet the division; and it was found that they were both of the same opinion; and only differed about words: upon which the Synod decreed, that thenceforth the *Greek Hypostasis*, and the *Latin Persona*, should be taken in the



## 154 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

same sense; to mean *particular Substance*. But the Scholermen have confounded the subject more than ever; by explaining *Hypostasis* to signify a *Person distinguished from the Substance*; in which sense it is used by the *Romish Church*; was never used before; and is utterly unintelligible.

Mr. B. Bennet, in his *Irenicum*, p. 81. tells us; the *Augustan Confession* uses the word *Person*; not for a Part or Quality, but for that which properly subsists.

The *Wirtemberg Confession* says, “*tres proprietates per se subsistentes* ;” but whether the distinction of Persons be *real* or *modal*, is a question.

A learned Controvertist says; the distinction is something less than *modal*, and greater than *real*.

Dr. South makes the Persons to be *internal Relations* of the one Substance of the Deity to *itself*.

Dr. Wallis makes them *external Relations* of the one Substance of the Deity to *Mankind*.

Zanchy says; a *Person* is nothing, but the Divine Essence; distinguished, and as it were individuated, by a certain personal property.

Junius thinks; the Persons are distinguished from the Essence, in notion only; *ratione tantum*; *ab invicem reali distinctione* : but really distinguished.

Lud. Capellus says; *non re, sed ratione*.

Mr. Baxter says; he is past doubt, there is in God a Trinity of essential, formal, inadequate Conceptions or Primalities; *viz.* vital, active Power, Intellect, and Will.

Others, to avoid the Inconvenience of defining, say in general, that there are three *Differences*; as Dr. Tillotson:

Three *Diversities*; as Bishop Burnet:

Three *Somewhats*; as Dr. Wallis:

Three *Subsistences*; as Archbishop Secker.

Mr. Fran. Cheynel, in his Book of the Divine Triunity, says; “We may best resemble all that difference, which  
“is between the Essence of God, and the Divine Subsistences;  
“tences;



“ tences ; by considering the transcendent affections of *Ens*  
“ *simpliciter*, and the Attributes of God ; who doth infi-  
“ nitely transcend not only a prædicamental Substance,  
“ but a metaphysical Entity ; as the most metaphysical  
“ men, who are found in the Faith, do honestly confess.

“ Concerning the transcendental affections of *Ens*,  
“ which are *unum verum bonum*, we say ; these three Af-  
“ fections, and *Ens in Latitudine*, do not make four things  
“ really distinct ; and yet we say, they are real and posi-  
“ tive Affections :” [and this is called *explaining*.] St.  
*Au’stin* being asked what the three are, says ; human  
learning is scanty, and affords not terms to express it ;  
’tis therefore answered three Persons, not as if that was to  
the purpose ; but Somewhat must be said, and we must  
not be silent. *De Trin.* L. v. c. 9.

The word *Homöousios* or *Consubstantial*, was no more de-  
terminate than the word *Person*. It was rejected by the  
Eighty Fathers, who condemned P. Samofatenus as *Sa-  
bellian* ; and within fifty years was made the test of *Or-  
thodoxy*. 1. It was understood by the *Athanasians*, to sig-  
nify the same kind of Substance, as the trunk and the  
branches and leaves of a Tree ; or the Sun, its light, and  
derivative light ; yet so existing, as that the second and  
third should depend on its original ; as the light upon the  
sun. 2. By *Gregory Nyssen*, *Cyril*, &c. it was understood  
to mean the same kind of substance, existing independen-  
tly ; as three men. 3. By the *Montanists* it was understood  
that the Son and Spirit existed as parts of the divine Sub-  
stance. 4. By the *Sabellians*, as one and the same iden-  
tical whole Substance. 5. By *Eusebius*, merely that the  
Son was not of the Substance of the Creatures ; dividing  
all Substance into *created* and *divine*. 6. By the *Lateran*  
Council, in a sense, if intelligible, very little, if at all,  
different from the *Sabellians*, and the ancient opinion of  
*Samofatenus*.

*Nature* is another technical term, much used in the dis-  
pute between the *Eutychians* and *Nestorians* ; and the mean-



ing of it is as uncertain. *De Rodon*, a learned Frenchman, says; it is taken in *nine* senses: and Mr. R. Baxter says, "the Sense was not agree'd-on; before they disputed the matter." Ch. Hist. 98. "Though the *Nestorians* still go for desperate Heretics, I verily believe," says Mr. Baxter; "that all the quarrel was about ambiguous words." And so Mr. Sale observes, in his preliminary discourse to the *Koran*, p. 33. and quotes *Simon's Hist. Crit. de la Creance, & du Levant*, to the same purpose. See reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, p. 176, 374.

And it will appear still plainer, how few men were capable of understanding these disputes; if we consider the Nicety of expression, with which they were managed.

*Nestorius* believed, the divine and human Natures of Christ were united; *non hypostasi, sed habitudine*. *Eutyches* was condemned for affirming, that Christ had but one Nature; after the two Natures were united. *Dioscurus* said, *Ex duabas (Naturis) suscipio, duas non suscipio*: That Christ is of two Natures; but not that he *is* or *has* two Natures. The *Eutychians* said, he was *ex duabas Naturis*: others *in duabas Naturis*: And *Cyril* reproves *Nestorius*; for asserting only an union *secundum personam*, and not *secundum naturam*: and one of *Quintianus's* Anathemas was; If any say God Man, and not God and Man; let him be damned. Baxter, Ch. Hist. 120.

On this question depended another; Whether the Virgin *Mary* was the Mother of God, as *Cyril* expressed it; or the Mother of Christ who was God; according to *Nestorius*. This being a difficulty, Mr. Baxter thus explains it. He says *Cyril* spake *de concreto*; and *Nestorius*, *de abstracto*; one spake *materially*, the other *formally*. They both mean'd, that *Mary* was the mother of Christ, who was God; but not of the Christ as God; or of the Deity. One understood it of Christ *qui Deus*; and the other of Christ, *quâ Deus*. Baxter, p. 90, and 94.

This dispute arose again in other shapes. In the days of *Hormisdas*, there was a question; Whether it might be said,



said, that *one of the Trinity was crucified*? The Nestorians laid hold of this, and said; If we may not say this, then we may not say, that *Mary* was the Parent of one of the Trinity. *Justinian* sent about this to *John*; and he held a Synod upon it; and it was agree'd; that they might say, contrary to *Hormisdas*, that *one of the Trinity was crucified*.

In the 5th general Council of *Constantinople*, *Theodoret* was accused for saying, that *Mary* begat not God, in the Nature of God; but Man, as united to the Godhead. Baxter, 182.

These disputes begat another; Whether Christ, being God and Man, had one or two Operations, or Wills. The difficulty was; that one Operation, or Will, seemed to assert one Nature; which was condemned in *Eutyches*; and two Operations, or Wills, seemed to assert two Persons; which was condemned in *Nestorius*. And in this question they were so confounded; that, at the sixth general Council of *Constantinople*, *Macarius*, Patriarch of *Antioch*, professed, that he would sooner be cast into the sea; than assert, there were two Wills in Christ; thinking he held with *Cyril* and the first *Ephesian* Council. But this was not sufficient: for though *Cyril* was called Orthodox, who was proved to assert *one Nature of God incarnate, after the Union*; yet “those that said as he, and  
“much less, were damned Hereticks:” and “those that  
“allowed two Natures, and denied two Wills, after the  
“Resurrection, were damned with the rest.” Baxter, 197.

And yet in another Council, where, *Binius* says, there were innumerable Bishops; they all condemned the sixth general Council, and their opinion of two Wills, and two Operations. Baxter, 202.

In short, the Christians had so confounded themselves in these disputes about Words, without defining the meaning of them; that, as Mr. *Baxter* says of the first Council of *Sirmium*, “they knew not who were, nor who  
were



were not, Heretics: and the most violent Persecutors, such as *Cyril* and *Nestorius*, &c. at length fell into the snare into which they had driven others; and it was almost impossible to avoid Condemnation, after being once singled out to be hunted down; a mere toss of the die, who were orthodox, and who were not: Bishops, and Popes, and Emperors, whether dead or alive, and even general Councils, shared the same fate. And these were the kind of Questions; upon which the Christians thought they did God service, by fining, imprisoning, and murdering one another. Baxter, 58.

V. p. 20. *Of the word Creature.*—Among the Heathen Philosophers, the word *Creature* had two very different senses. The first was large and indefinite: every Being was called a Creature, that was *not self-existent*, and *unoriginate*; whether produced *in* time, or *before* time; and whether supposed consubstantial with the supreme God, or not.

*Plato* supposed Matter and Spirit (ὕλη & ψυχή, the Substances of all things, whether material or immaterial) to be eternal; and so, it seems, did *Origen*; (see *Dupin*, p. 135;) and in this sense, the inferior Gods, who were believed to be formed before all Time, out of ψυχή, the Soul of the World, are called by him ἀγέννητοι, ἀθάνατοι, αἰῶνοι; uncreated, immortal, and eternal: but yet, as they were originally *made into* Gods, they were considered as *Creatures*, or created Beings; notwithstanding the divine Substance, out of which they were made, was supposed to be unoriginate, and eternal: to which purpose may be quoted that famous expression of *Plato*, so much cited by the ancient Writers, Θεοὶ Θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργός· Gods of Gods, whom I have created: so *Stobæus* says, “the Multitude of Gods is the work of the *Demiurgus*; made by him together with the world.” *Cudworth*, 462. And yet these inferior Gods were supposed to be *consubstantial*



*stantial* with the *supreme* God: and, in like manner, many of the Fathers supposed, Angels, and the Souls of men, were generated from the divine Substance; but not therefore *uncreated* Beings. See Dr. Cudworth, p. 254.

In the second sense of the word *Creature*, which was lower, vulgar, and limited, the word *Creature* mean'd such Beings only; as were made *in Time*, and were of a corrupt and perishable nature. And in this sense the *Orthodox* impute it to the *Arians*, that they believe the Son of God to be a *Creature*: but the *Arians* deny it; declaring him, as *Eunomius* says, to be *γέννημα τῆ ἀγεννήτης, ἔχ' ὡς ἐν τῶν γεννημάτων· κτίσμα τῆ ἀκτίστης, ἔχ' ὡς ἐν τῶν κτισμάτων· ποίημα τῆ ἀποίητης, ἔχ' ὡς ἐν τῶν ποιημάτων· καθὼς εἶρηται ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγίας γραφῆς, Κύριος ἐκτίσέ με. Prov. viii. 22.* The *Arians* therefore did not believe Christ to be a *Creature*, in this low sense of the word; but in the same sense in which it was supposed to be used of him in the *Proverbs*, according to the LXX translation.

*Philo Judæus* believed the *Word of God* to be neither *uncreated* and eternal, in the sense in which the *supreme God* is so; i. e. *unoriginately*: nor yet a *Creature*, as other *Creatures* made in *Time*, and of a corruptible nature; but of a middle nature, between both: *ἢτε ἀγέννητος, ὡς Θεός, ὢν· ἢτε γέννητος, ὡς ἡμεῖς· ἀλλὰ μέσος τῶν ἀκρῶν·* being neither *uncreated*, as *God* is; nor *created*, as *We* are: but the middle of the two extremes, between the *Maker* and the thing made. See *Philalethes Cantab.* on Dr. *Waterland's* second Defence.

As the ancient Fathers understood the words, *Θεός ἐκτίσέ με*, the Lord created me, *Prov. viii. 22*, to be mean'd of the Son of God; and *Col. i. 15*, *πρωτόγονος πάσης κτίσεως*: they did not scruple to say, that Christ was *created*. The *Apostolic Constitutions* stile him, *that Wisdom which God created*; and *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, about the year 182, wrote a Book, *περὶ κτίσεως Χριστοῦ* of the *Crëation* of Christ; *Reply to Waterland*, 326: and *Tertullian*, though he expressly



## 160 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

pressly affirms the Son to be of the Father's Substance, yet calls him *factum & conditum*: and so *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, and others; as the word was used by the *Platonists*; when they say of the first Cause, *de se mentem creasse*; believing, that *Mens* was not created from nothing; but was derived from the First Cause. See *Cudworth*, 576. According to this Philosophy, though the Son of God was believed to be *eternal*, and *consubstantial* with the Father; it was no proof that he was not a *Creature*; the word *Création* being used, as well to signify a Production from the divine Substance, as a *Création* from nothing.

VI. p. 21. *Of the Words Eternal, and without a Beginning.*—The *Orthodox*, as I have observed, had two senses to this word; which they used, as best suited their convenience. Sometimes, in an absolute sense; as when they spake of the *eternal existence* of the Son, as being the divine attribute of Wisdom, existing in the Father by necessity of nature; and consequently *unoriginate* and *unbegotten*. But they did not dare to use those words; for fear of the consequences: for, if he were unoriginate and unbegotten, he must either be the Father himself; which is *Sabellianism*: or, if different from the Father, then there must be *two unoriginate Beings*; *i. e.* two supreme Gods. And yet this is the sense in which *Athanasius* argues, when he says of the Son of God; *εἰ αἰδῖος ἔστιν υἱός, οὐκ ἦν κτισμα· εἰ δὲ κτισμα τυγχάνει, οὐκ ἦν αἰδῖος*: If the Son be eternal, he was not created; and if he was created, he was not eternal: For if *αἰδῖος* does not mean an absolute Eternity, but only an Existence before all ages; as it was used by the Philosophers; there is no absurdity in supposing the Son to be both *eternal*, and *created*. The Ancients believed the World to be *eternal*, and also to be *made*; *Cudworth*, 254: and the *Platonists* believed the same of the inferior Gods; see Note V: and when the

*Orthodox*



Orthodox spake of the *eternal* Generation of the Son, they then used the word *Eternal* in a more lax sense, to mean a generation *before all ages*; and not an *absolute* Eternity. For both the *Athanasians* and *Arians* believed; there was some *Time*, or rather some *Duration*, prior to *Time*, before his eternal Generation; otherwise *Athanasius* could not speak of him, as existing first, and afterwards begotten into a Son; ὅντα πρότερον, ὑστερον γεννηθέντα εἰς υἱόν (*Athan. de Syn. Arim. & Seleuc. & Hil. de Trin. lib. 4: Reply to Waterland's Defence, 125*) nor the Emperor *Constantine* say, that he was in the Father, πρὶν γεννηθῆναι, before he was begotten; nor *Arius*, ἦν ποτε ὅτε ἐκ ἧν and therefore, if the word is used in an absolute sense, *Athanasius* is to be answered by the same argument as he uses against the *Arians*; εἰ αἰδῖος ἐστίν, ἐκ ἧν γεννητός· εἰ δὲ γεννητός τυγχάνει, ἐκ ἧν αἰδῖος. If he is eternal, he is unbegotten; (for he existed before he was begotten; and consequently, he was unbegotten:) and if begotten, then not eternal; (for there was duration, before he was begotten.) The argument is equally strong against the *Athanasians*, as the *Arians*. In short, it is from the *absolute* Eternity of God, that we prove him to be independent, and self-existent. But if a Being<sup>1</sup> who was begotten, and is dependent on another for his Existence, can be *absolutely* Eternal; no such deduction can be made: nor can any *independent* Being be proved to exist.

On the other hand; when the *Athanasians* endeavour to clear themselves of this difficulty, by defining the words αἰδῖον, and ἀναρχον; they clear the *Arians*, at the same time: as appears from what is said by *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, and *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*; who stile the Generation of the Son, αἰδῖον, and ἀναρχον; Eternal, and Beginningless. *Alexander* says, μή τις τὸ αἰεὶ πρὸς ὑπονοίαν ἀγεννήτης λαμβανέτω—ἢτε γὰρ τὸ ἦν, ἢτε τὸ αἰεὶ, ἢτε τὸ πρὸ αἰώνων ταυτὸν ἐστὶν τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ. Epist. apud *Theodoret. Philal. Cant. p. 67*. Let no one understand the expression *existing always*, to signify  
Y  
being



being unbegotten—for neither the word *was*, nor *always*, nor *before all ages*, is the same as Unbegotten.—And *Eusebius* says, as quoted by *Philal. Cant.* p. 67, υἱὸν γεννητὸν, ὃ χρόνοις μὲν τισιν ἔκ ὀντα, ὕστερον δὲ ποτε γεγονότα· ἀλλὰ πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων ὄντα καὶ προόντα, καὶ τῷ πατρὶ ὡς υἱὸν διαπαντός συνόντα καὶ ἐκ ἀγέννητου ὄντα, γεννώμενον δὲ (falsely printed, γεννώμεν) ἐξ ἀγεννήτου πατρός—πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀνεκφάστου καὶ ἀπερινοήτου βελῆς τε καὶ δυνάμεως ἐσιέμενον. *Dem. Evang. Lib. 4, c. 3.* The Son was begotten; not as if he was at any time not existing, and afterwards begotten; but existing before all ages, and being pre-existent, and existing always as a Son with the Father, [which *Athanasius*, and many of the Orthodox, deny;] not being unbegotten, but begotten of the unbegotten Father; having his Subsistence by the ineffable and incomprehensible will and power of the Father. And again, ὁ δὲ πατήρ προῦπάρχει τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ προῦφέσκηκεν, ἥ μονος ἀγέννητος ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸν τέλειος, καὶ πρῶτος ὡς πατήρ, καὶ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ συστάσεως αἴτιος—ὃς δὲ ὡς ἐξ αἰτίας γεγονώς υἱός, δεύτερος ὃ ἔστιν υἱός καθέσθηκεν. But the Father exists before the Son, and subsisted before his Generation, as being alone unoriginated; and he is perfect (God) of himself; and first, as being Father, and cause of the Existence of the Son—but the Son, as being derived from a Cause, is Second after him whose Son he is.

From all this it is plain, that the *Arians* allow the Eternity of the Son; in the same sense of the word, as the *Orthodox* allow his eternal Generation; *i. e.* they allow it in the highest sense of the word, that comes short of unoriginate, and self-existent: and the *Athanasians* do not believe the Son to be unoriginate, or self-existent; any more than the *Arians*.

It is said; that God, from all Eternity, could act; and therefore, the Effect of that act would be eternal. But this is not true; in the strict philosophic sense: because the very act would be a date, or given moment, from which to reckon down even to the present year.

The



The case is the same; in regard to Extension. Though a line be infinitely extended; yet no point can be given in it, which shall be at an infinite distance from another given point in the same line. Fix the point, where you will; there will be a line before it. And the performance of an Act is the same thing, with regard to Eternity; as the fixing of a Point is, to infinite Extension: it makes the duration definite, as fixing the Point in a line does the Longitude; you may measure back to that point: and, if it were not so, a part would be equal to the whole; and a finite to an infinite: which is absurd. There is a great difference, between having from eternity a power of acting; and having a power of producing an effect, which effect shall be eternal.

But supposing that such an effect could properly be called eternal; yet it could not be called *ἀναρχον*, in the strict philosophic sense; *i. e.* without beginning: for that word does most certainly, in the strict sense, include the idea of unoriginate and self-existent; and consequently, such an assertion must allow of two Gods. But if we leave Philosophy, and consider the words in the Scripture sense of them; the Beginning will signify, the Crëation of all things by Jesus Christ: and the words *αἰδιον*, and *ἀναρχον*, will relate to the Duration *before that Crëation*; or before all ages; and Christ, who existed before that Crëation, will be *αἰδιον* and *ἀναρχον*.

Plato says; When God made and contemplated the Universe, he rejoiced over it; and then he made Time, &c. *Essay on Spirit*, 128: and 'tis probable; the *Beginning*, mentioned by *Moses*, is only considered by him, as relating to the Crëation of *this World*; in which there is no mention of the crëating Angels, or any other Beings. And *St. John*, it is probable, goes no higher; *John i. 1.* So that when the Scripture speaks of other Beings, which existed *before the World*; having no measures of *Time*, whereby to denote the different durations of their existence, (*Gen. i. 14*) they say of them all, that they existed in [or before



before] the *Beginning*; or before the *World* was; or of *Old*; or from *Everlasting*. *Gen.* i. 1; *John* i. 1; xvii. 5; *Prov.* viii. 22, 23; *Psalms* xciii. 2, in *Ainsworth*; *Isaiab* xlv. 8; &c. And in this sense, the Gospel is called everlasting; *Rev.* xvi. 6; αἰώνιον; because it was promised πρὸ χρόνων αἰώνων, *Tit.* i. 2; i. e. before all time: in which sense the word was understood by *Chrysostom*; who tells us, “*St. Paul* calls that, which existed before “all Ages, *eternal*;” for in another place he says; “He “that existed before all Ages. The Son therefore will be “found, in this sense, to be *eternal*: and he [*St. Paul*] “saith of him, that by him he made the Ages. Now, “it is manifest, that the Maker exists before the things “made.—But what is mean’d by *the Age*, or Αἰών? It “is Time, in days and hours.” Τὸ δὲ πρὸ αἰώνων το αἰδίου φησι· καὶ γὰρ ἀλλαχῇ ἔλω φησιν, ὁ ὑπάρχων πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων· εὐρηθῆσθαι τοιούτων καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἔλω αἰδίου. Καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὅτι δι’ αὐτοῦ πρὸ αἰῶνα ἐποίησεν· ὅπερ ἐστὶ, πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων ὑπαρχειν. Ὁ γὰρ ποιητὴς πρὸ τῶν ποιημάτων εὐδην ὅτι. *Tom.* iii. *Orat.* 7, in *1 Cor.* ii. 6. Τί πότε ἐστὶν αἰών, εἰπέ μοι; χρόνον ἐν ἡμέραις καὶ ὥραις. *Tom.* iii. in *Gal.* i. 4. So *Bishop Burnet* makes Duration before all Time to be *eternal*;—on *Art.* 11. and *Le Clerc* says, it was so understood; in the days of *Constantine*. *Bib. Univ.* x. 445. “When the Fathers call the Son *eternal*; which, I think, is not above once or twice in all their writings; they mean, that he was made by the Father; in that Duration, which Philosophy calls Eternity; some space before the World was made.” *Second Collection of Unitarian Tracts*, p. 88. *Archbishop Tillotson* says; He did exist, before any thing was made; and consequently, is without Beginning; or Eternal. *Of the Divine Incarnation*, p. 119; *Bp. Williams’s Vindication of Archbishop Tillotson’s Sermons*, p. 22.

The third *Sirmian Creed* seems to express this the most intelligibly of any thing I have met-with on the subject; viz. that the Son was, *ante omnia secula* & *initia*; *ante omne tempus quod in intellectum cadere potest*; & *ante omnem*



*comprehensibilem substantiam*: Before all Ages and Beginning, and all time that we can conceive, and all Substance that we can comprehend. And this is as high a sense, as the words are capable of; without supposing them to mean, that Christ is unoriginate and self-existent; which is denied by the *Athanasians*, as well as the *Arians*.

VII. p. 21. *Of the Generation of the Son of God.*—In regard to this, Bishop *Pearson* says; the Communication of the divine Essence by the Father was the true and proper *Generation*, by which he hath begotten a Son.—A Son is nothing but another produced by his *Father*, of the same nature with him.—But God the *Father* hath communicated to the *Word* the same divine Essence, by which he is *God*; p. 137: and p. 34 he says; the *Father* hath the Essence or Attributes, of himself; and the *Son*, by a communication from the Father.—But Dr. *Waterland*, though he speaks of a threefold *Generation* of the Son; two antemundane, and one in the flesh; yet, when he comes to explain himself, denies any literal *Generation* of the Son at all: for he supposes his being in the Father, before he was generated, to be the first and most proper Filiation or Generation; which he allows to be a mere Co-existence with the Father, and not any Derivation from him.—His second Generation he supposes to be, his Manifestation to create; which is no Generation. And, thirdly, his Manifestation in the flesh, to govern his creatures; which he explains to be nothing but a Mission, Manifestation, or Exertion, or taking a new office: and says; there is no change at all in it, no not so much as in any mode of existence; but he was as much and truly generated before as after it. (See *Observations on Dr. Waterland's Second Defence*, p. 58, 59, 69, 72.) Thus in fact, he allows of a *figurative*, but of no *literal* Generation of the Son; either temporal or eternal. See *Philal. Cant. Farther Remarks*, p. 40, and *First Part*, p. 41.



VIII. p. 28, 79. *Of the Trinity of one singular Essence.*—The word ὁμοούσιον, or *Consubstantial*; which was opposed by the *Nicene Fathers*, on one side, to the words ἑτεροούσιον, and ἀλλοιούσιον, of a *different Substance*; which contained the opinion of *Arius*: and, on the other side, to ταυτοούσιον, and μονοούσιον, of one and the *same Substance*; which contained the opinion of *Sabellius*: could not possibly mean a *singular* existent or individual *Essence*, or any thing else but the *same generical Essence*; which the *Platonists* expressed by γενέσις, and the *Athanasians* by ομοειδής, ὁμογενής, ὁμοφυής. And the words of the Council of *Chalcedon* are capable of no other meaning; ομοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ τὴν θεότητα, καὶ ὁμοούσιον ἡμῖν κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα. *consubstantial with the Father, as to his Godhead; and consubstantial with Us, as to his Manhood.*

The words of *Athanasius* are these; Οὐδὲ γὰρ υἱο-πατέρα φρονέμεν, ὡς οἱ Σαβέλλιοι, μονοούσιον καὶ ἐκ ὁμοούσιον. *We do not think the Son to be really one and the same with the Father, as the Sabellians do; and to be Monöousios, not Homöousios, they thereby destroying the very Being of the Son.* *Expos. Fidei*, p. 241.—And *Ephraïm* makes the same remark: and says; Καὶ ἐ λέγομεν ταυτοούσιον, ἵνα μὴ ἡ λέξις παρὰ τισι λεγόμενῃ Σαβελλίῳ ἀπεικασθῇ ταυτὸν δὲ λέγομεν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τῇ οὐσίᾳ, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει. *We affirm not the Son to be the same in Substance with the Father; least this should be taken in way of compliance with Sabellius: nevertheless we do assert him to be the same in Godhead, and in Essence, and in Power.* *Cudw.* 611. Accordingly, *Dr. Cudworth* draws this conclusion: It is plain; that the ancient orthodox Fathers asserted no such thing, as one and the same *singular* or *numerical Essence* of the several Persons of the Trinity: this, according to them, being not a *real Trinity*; but a Trinity of mere names, notions, and inadequate conceptions only. And p. 598, he says; To consider the Trinity to be so undivided, as if *Three* were not *Three* in it; is to make the  
mystery



mystery contemptible: [for then the Trinity would not be a Trinity;] and if the whole Trinity be *One*, as each single Person therein is *One* in himself; then there must be a Trinity in *each Person*.—These Fathers, it is plain, asserted a *specific* Unity only; and not a *numerical* one: and nothing can be more contrary to this, than the doctrine of the *Lateran* Council; which is generally looked upon as orthodox, and particularly is espoused by Dr. *Waterland*; that the Father and Son are *una summa res*: [Defence of his *Quer.*] and that the Son may be justly called the Father's Substance; p. 379, 380, 391.

We are told by the great *Basil*, Epist. ccc; that the word ὁμοῦσι corrects the impiety of *Sabellius*; for it takes away the Identity of Substance, and introduces a perfect notion of the Persons. For the same thing is not [indeed, cannot be] consubstantial *to itself*; but *one* thing *to another*. Ἀυτὴ δὲ ἡ φωνή, καὶ τὸ τῷ Σαβελλίῳ κακὸν ἐπανορθεῖται· ἀναιρεῖ γὰρ τὴν ταυτότητά τῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ εἰσάγει τελείαν τῶν προσώπων τὴν ἐννοίαν. Οὐ γὰρ αὐτό τί ἐστιν ἑαυτῷ ὁμοῦσιον, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ. *Bulli Op.* 31.—Accordingly he says; God is not *One* in *Number*; but only in *Nature*. Epist. 141, *ad Cæsar*. and so says *Justin*; Ἐξ τῷ Πατρὸς ἀριθμῷ, ἔ γνῶμη.

All these writers therefore agree; to reject a *numerical* Unity of Substance, as the doctrine of *Sabellius*; and to admit only a *generical* or *specific* Unity: and it was understood, in the Councils of *Nice* and *Chalcedon*, as in the words just quoted: and even Dr. *Waterland* says; the Substance of the *One* Person is not the Substance of *either* of the others; but *different*: however of the same kind, or united. *Philal. Cant.* p. 14. And Bishop *Bull* supposes the same; and that they are joined together by a *Perichorésis*. *Bulli Op.* 130, 285. But Dr. *Whitby* observes, very justly; that “Three Essences cannot be “One, and no more; by being *connexé* & *conjuncté*:” (*Last Thoughts*, p. 6) and, in his Preface to the same book, he says; “It is evident, from the words of *Atha-*  
“ *nasius*



“ *nafius* and *Epiphanius* ;” [which are quoted above]  
 “ that the doctrine of the *Sabellians* was exactly the same  
 “ with that of those who stile themselves the *Orthodox* ;  
 “ asserting, that the Father and the Son are *numerically*  
 “ one and the same God : both of them testifying, that  
 “ to say the Father and the Son were *μονοέσιοι*, or *ταυλοέσιοι*,  
 “ of one and the same Substance,” [which is the doctrine  
 of the *Lateran* Council, and the *Romish* Church ;] “ was  
 “ *Sabellianism*. And to contend, that this is the doctrine  
 “ of the Church of *England*, is to dishonour our Church ;  
 “ and in effect to charge Her with that Herefy : which  
 “ was exploded with scorn by the whole Church of  
 “ Christ ; from the third to this present century.”

IX. p. 41. *Of the Arians*.—As the *Arians* are accused by the *Orthodox*, of not giving a fair account of their Faith ; let us see, Ist. whether the *Orthodox* have done it more honestly and precisely.—Bishop *Pearson* says ; “ the Herefy of *Arius*, as it was condemned by the Council of *Nice*, is known to all ;” p. 187 : and again ; “ the Herefy is so well known, that it needs no explication : and indeed, it cannot be better described ; than in the Anathematism of the *Nicene* Council.” That Decree is as follows . Τῆς δὲ λέγοντας, Ἦν ποτε ὅτε ἐκ ἧν· καὶ Πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἧν· καὶ Ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ ὁλῶν ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἐτέρας ὑποστάσεως, ἢ ἐσίας, φάσκοντάς· εἶναι, ἢ κτισόν, ἢ αλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· τέτοις ἀναθεματίζει ἡ καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία. p. 134. The Catholic Apostolic Church anathematizes those who say ; there was [a time] when he [the Son of God] was not ; and that he did not exist before he was begotten : or that say ; he was of a different *Hypostasis*, or *Ousia* ; or was created, or liable to change.—Whether this was charged upon *Arius*, as his opinion, by the *Nicenes* ; or mean’d only to disculpate themselves ; does not appear : but the Bishop ought to have known ; that the opinion of *Arius* was very different from what is there condemned :

vix.



viz. that God did *ante sempiterna tempora unigenitum filium* gignere; per quem & secula & reliqua omnia procreavit: viz. *subsistentem illum suapte voluntate condidisse ejusmodi ut neque converti neque mutari possit.* Epis. of Arius to B. Alexander. See Appendix to the VIIIth Letter. Now, if it was the opinion of *Arius*, that the Son was immutable; how could Bishop *Pearson* refer us to the Anathematism of the *Nicene* Council, for his opinion; as if it was there described.

It is observable; that *Hilary* has translated the words, ἀλλοιωτὸν, ἢ τρεπτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, by *convertibilem & mutabilem Deum*; instead of *Dei filium*; and thereby described a Heresy, that never existed. The Heresy, condemned by the *Nicene* Council, did not concern any opinion about *God*; but his *Son*: for no-body ever held, that there was a time when *God* was not; or that *He* was not, before he was begotten. And if *Hilary* mean'd, by this omission, to charge *Arius* with the notion, that *God* was himself *mutabilis & convertibilis*; it was a *coup de maitre*: for he must have known, that this was the very accusation which *Arius* brought against the *Athanasians*, as a consequence of their opinion; and upon account of which he rejected it: as he himself declares, in his letter to Bishop *Alexander*.

Dr. *Cave* has given us the Creed of *Eunomius*, as already quoted in p. 20. and yet, in sight of the very words of it which confess Christ to be God, he says of him; *istud vero argumentum præ aliis jactitat, quod ex prima Idea Dei, Deum ἀγέννητον esse pateat: Christus autem non est ἀγέννητος ergo non Deus.* But *Eunomius* uses no such argument; and asserts the direct contrary.—The Doctor, to prove his assertion, quotes as follows; ἄντε γὰρ ἀγεννητος, ἐκ υἱος ἄντε υἱος, ἐκ ἀγεννητος. In which *Eunomius* argues very justly; “if unbegotten, then not a Son: and if a Son, then not “unbegotten:” instead of which, the Doctor has made him say, in flat contradiction to his own Creed; “If not “unbegotten then not God.” Whereas *Eunomius* asserts the Son to be both God, and also begotten; through his



whole apology, as well as his *Fides Expofita*. In one place he fays, “ from his being a Son and begotten, he is the “ only begotten God ;” and again, “ he is the Lord and “ King of Glory ; as being the Son of God and God.” *Fab. Bib. Græ.* vol. viii. p. 256. And in another place, he calls him true God : “ and we believe alfo in the Son “ of God, the only begotten God ; the Firft Born of the “ whole Creation, Chrift true God not unbegotten.” *Ibid.* 255. To what purpofe now is all this chicanery and mif-representation ; if all is mean’d to be fair and honeft ? But in truth, the orthodox writers are fo jealous of the *Arians*’ opinions ; that they fcarce ever represent them, as the *Arians* themfelves exprefs them.

II. I fhall examine their real opinions ; particularly what Dr. *Cave* gives us of them in the words of *Arius* : and fhew, wherein they differ from what has been looked-upon to be orthodox.

Now 1<sup>st</sup>. as the *Arians* believed the divine Subftance of the Father to be ἀγεννήτος, unbegotten, and ἀναρχος, without Beginning ; they concluded, that it was different from the Subftance of the Son ; who was begotten and had a Beginning : and agreeably to this notion, they faid ; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἴσος, ἀλλ’ ἐδ’ ὁμοῖσι αὐτῷ—καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ ἴσου ἰδιότητος πατρὸς ἐσίας—ξένος τῷ υἱῷ κατ’ ἐσίαν ὁ πατήρ. And he adds the reafon ; Οὐκ ἀναρχος ὑπάρχει. “ He is not equal to the “ Father, nor confubftantial with him—he is not of the “ Father’s Subftance—the Father is different in Subftance ; becaufe he is without Beginning.” But the *Athanafians* believed the Father and Son to be of the fame Subftance ; that is, of the fame generical Subftance ; as two Men are of the fame Subftance ; and the Sabellians believe them to be of the fame identical numerical Subftance.

2. As the *Arians* believed the divine Subftance of the Father to be indivifible and un compounded ; they could not believe the Son to be generated of or from it, in any literal fenfe ; either as being compounded with it, or divided



ded from it: and therefore they concluded, that the Generation of the Son was *figurative*; and was not a Participation of Substance, but a Crëation; as the word *Crëation* is frequently used in Scripture, with regard to Mankind. And they confirmed this from *Prov. viii. 22.* Θεὸς ἐκτίσά με, &c. And because they believed it blasphemous to say, that this Generation was out of the indivisible Substance of the Father; and no other Substance then existed—they said; Οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ὑπέστη· καὶ αὐτὸς ἔκ ἐστιν ἰδίῳ τοῦ πατρὸς ὁσίᾳ, κτίσμα γάρ ἐστι καὶ ποίημα. “He subsists, “not of or from the Father; but from nothing: and he “is not of the Father’s Substance; for he is created and “made.” But the *Athanasians* believed, the Son was *literally* generated from the Father’s Substance.

3. As the *Arians* believe the Father and Son to be of a different Substance; they believed them also to be distinct Beings, separately existing; δύο πρόσωπα in which they agree’d with some of the Orthodox Fathers, as *Origen*, *Gregory Nyssen*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Maximus the Martyr*, *Damascen*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Alexander of Alexandria*, &c. and differed from others, who believed him to be ἐκ παλῆς, of or from the Father’s Substance; as the Leaves are from the Tree; but not divided from it; as the *Athanasians*.

4. They believed, that Christ was the only begotten Son of God; because he only was crëated by the *immediate* act and power of God *himself*, ἀμεσιτέυτως and that all other Beings, the Holy Ghost not excepted, were crëated *by Christ*: in which they agree’d with *Origen* and *Eusebius*, men of as great character as any in the Christian Church. And therefore they called him a Creature; but not like other Creatures.

5. They believed that the Son was generated or crëated before all Ages; and was a real Person, when spoken of, *Prov. viii. 22.* and that his Generation was over, as soon as he existed. Whereas some of the Orthodox believed him to be only an *Attribute*, when *there* spoken-of; and



that he was *afterwards* generated into a Son: and some of them believed him eternally generating, as Light from the Sun.

6. They believed the *divine* Being, who descended from Heaven and was born of the Virgin *Mary*, was the only intelligent Spirit that animated the *Body* of Christ; and that this *divine* Being suffered: but the Orthodox believed; that the *divine* Being, that descended from Heaven and animated the Body of Christ, was incapable of suffering: and that it was only the *human* Nature, or *Soul* of Christ, that suffered; *i. e.* a mere *Man*.

7. As the *Arians* believed Christ to be the Son of the only true God, and not the only true God and Father of that Son; it was very consistent with their Belief to say, Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός. “He is not the true God.”—But if it be imagined; that by this expression they mean’d to deny, that Christ was truly God the Son: the express words of *Eunomius* prove the contrary; and *Arius* himself explains his meaning sufficiently by what follows: Οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθινὸς Θεὸς ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλὰ μέισχῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐθεοποιήθη. *i. e.* “He is not the true [self-existent and un-originate] God; “but receives his Divinity by Communication:” which was the opinion of *Origen*, *Eusebius*, and *Lactantius*.

As all these notions, most of them mentioned by Dr. *Cave*, follow directly from the first general principle and foundation, which *Eunomius* has so much laboured to establish; it may easily be judged, whether either He or *Arius* have in any particular endeavoured to explain-away or soften their opinions; more than is consistent with that fundamental principle. And this will be a proper Criterion, to judge by, whether Bishop *Bull* and Dr. *Cave* had any right to accuse them upon that account. Bishop *Bull* says; “If the *Arians* were asked, whether the Son was “begotten of the Father himself; they allowed it: meaning, the Son was so from God; as all Creatures are: “*i. e.* from him they had the Beginning of their Existence. “—If it were asked, whether the Son of God was *God*; they



“ they confessed it: nay, more, that he was *true God*.  
 “ But, in what sense? Why, because he is *made true*  
 “ God. And when accused of calling the Son a Creature,  
 “ they denied it with disdain; with this *reserve*, that he  
 “ was not a Creature *like the other Creatures*: which were  
 “ created by the Word; and not immediately by God,  
 “ as the *Logos* was.” *Bulli Op.* p. 34. These answers  
 are looked-upon by the Bishop, as crafty and prevarica-  
 ting; but in Truth they contain the real Opinions of the  
*Arians*, fairly and honestly given: though Bishop *Bull*  
 uses such severe language about it, calling it *in pervers-*  
*tendis ac detorquendis sacrorum Oraculorum verbis, impia atque*  
*abominanda uafrities*. But strength of argument does not  
 lie in hard words: The Bishop’s adversaries think, they  
 see as much prevarication on the other side of the ques-  
 tion; *viz.* in defending the Immutability of a Being,  
 who was *once* in the form of *God*, and *afterwards* in the  
 form of a *Servant*; now in the highest *Glory*, and at ano-  
 ther time suffering *Pain* and *Death*: or the *Impassibility* of  
 a God, that *suffered* and *died*; or the *Infinity* of a God,  
*confined* in a human Body; &c.

Dr. *Cave* can say severe things in as big words, and  
 with as little proof, as Bishop *Bull*. He tells us; *Quan-*  
*quam tanta verborum monstra & propositionum portenta, fu-*  
*catis & speciosis explicationibus, homo versatilis ingenii, pro*  
*re nata emollire seu potius tegere soleret; summa tamen errorum*  
*semper huc redüt: filium & tempore & natura & dignitate patre*  
*esse inferiorem, de non extantibus factum, & plane Crëaturam;*  
*licet excellentiore creaturarum ordine collocatam.* (*Hist. Lit.*)  
 He concludes, that he believed the Son to be inferior to  
 the Father, in Time, Nature, and Dignity; made of a  
 Substance not before existing, and plainly a *Creature*,  
 though of a more excellent order than others.

But these notions were not the *Inventions* of *Arius*.  
 They were held by men of the best characters, that lived  
 before him: In short, the most learned of the Ancients  
 talked so much in the *Arian* style; that they are accused  
 of



of *Arianism*. Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, 331. And this the Adversaries of the *Arians* confess; when they sometimes accuse *Origen*, sometimes *Dionysius Alex.* and even *Philo Judæus*, as being the fountain of *Arianism*. And this was the plea, that both *Arius* and *Eunomius* made in their Defence. "These things, says *Eunomius*, we think as we have learned them from holy Men; and so thinking we believe: passing by nothing that we have learned through shame, neither through audacity or perverseness adding-to or altering any thing. *Bib. Gr.* Vol. viii. p. 261." And *Arius* begins his Epistle to Bishop *Alexander* in this manner; *Fides illa, quam & a Majoribus accepimus & a Te didicimus, ejusmodi est*. Wherein he gives an account of his Faith; and in which he has these remarkable words—*Quare etiam ante filium suum Christum est [Deus]; sicut a Te didicimus, cum id in media ecclesiâ prædicares*. Epiph. Hær. 69. § 7, 8. Accordingly, *Zonaras* says; (Tom. iii. Annal.) *Arius Dei Filium & Verbum creaturam dicere non dubitavit; & alterius esse Naturæ, nec Patria cœternum. Nec ipse tamen auctor hujus sectæ exstitit; sed Origenes*. (Sand. Hist. Ecc. 231.) And *Petavius* says; It was the great advantage of *Arius*, that many of the Fathers of the Church had spoken in such kind of terms before him. p. 285. ad Hær. 69. *Origen* held, that the Son was created by the Father: and *Epiphanius* accuses him of calling him γενήλον Θεόν. (Vales. apud Theod. 1. 2. c. 6. Burnet's Animad. on Mr. Hill, p. 45. And, in his answer to *Celsus*, he says; we call the Son a second God. 1. 5. p. 258.) and adds; the first God or Father worketh not; no, nor properly speaking, doth the Son or second God. *ibid.* lib. 6. p. 318.—*Dionysius* of *Alexandria* says of him, Ποῖημα καὶ γενήλον εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ· μήτε δὲ φύσει ἴδιον, ἀλλὰ ξένον καὶ ἴδιον εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ· ὥσπερ ἐστὶν ὁ γεωργὸς πρὸς τὴν ἀμπελον, καὶ ὡς ὁ ναυπηγὸς πρὸς τὸ σκαφ· καὶ γὰρ ὡς ποῖημα ὦν ἐκ ἧν πρὶν γενέσθαι. *Daillé*, p. 80. 83. *Dionys. Alex.* apud *Athan.* Ep. de fide *Dionys. Alex.* Vide & *Basil.* Ep. 51. tom. 2. p. 808. *Facturam & factum esse filium Dei; nec natura proprium,*



*prium, sed hospitem vel peregrinum secundum substantiam esse Patris; sicut agricola ad vineam, & navium fabricator ad scapham: etenim tanquam factum existens non erat antequam fieret.* (Sandii 194.) He also calls the Father and Son *δύο πρᾶγματα*; as Origen had done: and maintained a difference between the Father and Son, not only of *Hypostasis* but of *ἔσῳα* or a difference *καὶ ἔσῳαν*. See Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, p. 450. *Justin Martyr* in like manner declares them to be two in *number*; and says, no man ever saw the Father; but only hear'd his Son and his Angel, who is also God by the will of the Father: and that the God, who appeared to the Patriarchs, was the Son, and not the Father; for as much as the Father is not capable of local motion, nor can properly be said to ascend or descend: which words, as Mr. *Daillé* observes, cannot be very well explained; without allowing a difference of *Nature* in the Father and Son: which were to establish *Arianism*. (*Daillé*) p. 79. He also calls the Son *Θεὸν ὑπηρέτην τῷ ποιητῇ τῶν ὅλων Θεῷ*. the God who is Servant to the God of the Universe. Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, 332. *Tertullian* says; there was a time, when the Son was not: and numbers of them agree'd in the notion, that the Son was begotten *in tempore*; a little before the beginning of the world: and consequently, as Mr. *Jurieu* has observed; that the Trinity commenced but a little before the beginning of the World. See Note XIII.

All these were to the full as heretical as *Arius*; and yet they are spoken of with respect, and their Heresies are overlook'd, or soften'd into Orthodoxy: (as the words of Origen are by *Dupin*, p. 25; and of *Dionysius*, by *Athanasius* and *Daillé*; 83.) while the same words of *Arius* are heighthen'd, with all the appearance of rage and malice, into Blasphemy and Idolatry. “And if any one shall  
“wonder at this,” says *Sandius*, “that the *Antenicene* Fa-  
“thers preached and published the same doctrine as *Arius*;  
“let his wonder cease, when he observes; that those doc-  
“trines were never declared to be heretical, nor condemn-  
“ed



## 176 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

“ ed in any Council before that of Nice ; nay, that  
 “ there was no Heretic [he means, none that was looked  
 “ upon as a Heretic] before *Arius*, who held the same doc-  
 “ trines as he did. For the Anathema to these doctrines  
 “ was first of all denounced against *Arius* by the *Nicene*  
 “ Council ; and afterwards against *Macedonius*, by that of  
 “ *Constantinople* : after which, it was no longer allowed to  
 “ preach or publish such doctrines.” *Sandii Nuc.* p. 230.  
 and it was even a capital crime, to keep an *Arian* book.

Now when I consider these things, I can hardly imagine it possible ; that so much rancour and ill-will, both among the ancients and moderns, should arise merely from a zeal for Truth and the Honour of God : and not rather from some other principles which the *Arians* maintained, more directly opposed to the authority and power of the Ecclesiastics.

And the following observations will shew such a suspicion to be probable.—

1st. The *Arians* are accused by *Chrysostom*, of making the twelv'th Canon of the Council of *Antioch* ; which orders, that a Bishop who is deposed shall appeal to a Synod ; and not be restored, except by a greater number of Bishops than had deposed him. This Canon was directly against the restoration of *Chrysostom* ; and so he palms it upon the *Arians* : and the *Romish* Church condemns it ; because it takes away the pretended apostolical custom of appealing to *Rome*. See *Labb.* 595. *Bin.* p. 417. Col. 2. *Comber*, p. 105.

2. The *Arians* are likewise accused of the *Scripturarian* Heresy ; of taking the holy Scripture for their only guide in Controversy. “ These *Scripturarians*,” says *Prateolus*, “ *Satan* led away into error, as he did formerly the *Arians* ; whilst they admitted only the holy Scripture, rejecting the learned and holy Interpreters ; against Whom the Catholics oppose Tradition.” We see then, how the *Arians* came to be such monsters ; in the eyes of the  
*Papists* :



*Papists*: and at the Reformation, these subjects were not fully considered.

3. Add to these notions, what we are told by *Epiphanius* and *Au'stine*; that *Arius* was enrolled in the number of Heretics, for denying the Lawfulness of Episcopacy. (*Nelson's Feasts*, &c. p. 543; *Epiphan. Hær.* 75; *August. de Hær.* 53:) And we shall no longer wonder at his being looked upon by *Jerom* as an impudent devil; *Dæmonium meridianum*(a); (*Aug. Apol.* 2 con. *Ruffin. Daillé*, 80.) and treated by the Fathers and their Successors with so much rage; and that the severity of the Christians against one another began with the banishment of Him and his followers.

It is a very common assertion, that *Arius* denied the *Eternity* and *Divinity* of the Son of God; but it never yet appeared to Me, upon good authority: for, he never denied the *Eternity* of the Son, in any other sense; than that in which it is denied by the *Orthodox*, and signifies *unoriginate* and *unbegotten*; that is, *self-existent*. This accusation is drawn, by way of inference, (in contradiction to the express words of the *Arians* in their Creeds) from his asserting, with regard to the *Logos*, ἦν ποτε ὅτε ἔκ ἧν. there was, when he was not: which is generally translated, there was a *Time*, when he was not; but there is no such word as *Time*, in the *Greek*: nor in *Hilary's* translation: and *Arius*

---

(a) 'Tis probable, when *Jerom* calls *Arius* an impudent Devil, *Dæmonium meridianum*, he refers to *Psalms* xci. 6; where the words in the *English*, *Destruction wasteth at noon-day*, are translated in the *LXX*: ἀπο δαιμονίου μεσημβρίως. "the Dæmon at noon-day." The Pestilence, that walketh in Darknes; is opposed to the Destruction or Dæmon, that destroyeth at Noon-day: And therefore does not signify *impudent Devil*; but refers to the destruction caused by Dæmons, through intense Heats, Plagues, &c. &c. See *Sykes's Farther Inquiry* into the meaning of *Dæmoniacs*, p. 32.

A a

believed



believed, that the *Logos* existed “before all *Ages* ;” (as Archbishop *Tennison* confesses(*b*) ;) and consequently, before all *Time* : and *Arius* declares, in his Letter to Bishop *Alexander* ; (*Epiph. Hær.* 69, § 7, 8) *ante tempora* & *ante secula creatum* : and again, *sine tempore* & *ante omnia genitus solus a solo Deo productus est*. And if so, *Arius* might believe him to be eternal, though created ; according to the philosophy of those ages. And no doubt it was upon this account, that he designedly avoided to use the word *Time* : and made use of the Circumlocution, ἦν ποτε ὅτε ἐκ ἦν. See Note VI. For it was the opinion of the *Platonists* ; that the Generation of the *Word*, or Son of God, “ was not “ from any temporal beginning ; there being yet no such “ thing as *Time* : nor, when *Time* was afterwards made, “ did it any way affect him ; for Mind [*Nᾱς*] is always “ timeless, and alone eternal(*c*).” And accordingly, it appears by the Letters of *Eusebius*, written to Bishop *Alexander* : that he (*Eusebius*) was persuaded, that *Arius* and his Sect confessed the *Word* was Eternal : and he thought it a false imputation, that he taught the contrary(*d*).

Another peculiarity of *Arius*’s doctrine, from whence it was inferred, that he denied the Eternity of the Son was this ; that he was not, before he was begotten into a Son ; πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἦν. But then they believed him to be begotten from *Eternity*, and therefore to be *eternal* ; according to the Philosophy of the *Platonists*, which then prevailed, concerning their inferior Gods ; that they were created, and yet were αἰώνιοι, and ἀθάνατοι. For though the Pagan Theists say, “ the word γενῆδον, strictly and properly taken, “ is τὸ ἐν μέρει χρόνε τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι πάροδον λάχον (that which “ in some portion of *Time* passed out of Non-existence into

---

(*b*) *Tennison* on Idolatry.      (*c*) *Porphry* cited by *Cyril*,  
 contr. *Jul.* lib. i. p. 32. *Cudworth*, 573.      (*d*) *Dupin*,  
 tom. ii. p. 2.



“ Being); yet in a larger sense it may be taken also for  
 “ τὸ ὅπως ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας ὑφισταμένον that which is in whatever  
 “ way dependent on a Cause(e).” However; this opi-  
 nion of the *Arians*, that Christ was not before he was be-  
 gotten; πρὶν γεννηθῆναι ἐκ ἡμῶν was condemned by the *Athana-*  
*sians*: who asserted, that the second *Hypostasis* had an Ex-  
 istence, before he was begotten into a Son; τὸν ὄντα πρότε-  
 ρον, ὑπερὸν γεννηθέντα εἰς υἱόν. And it is said, that *Eusebius* was  
 one that condemned this opinion of *Arius*; and gives us  
 this reason for it; *because all men believe, he [Christ] was*  
*the Son of God, before his Generation according to the Flesh(f).*  
 But there is reason to believe, that this was never said by  
*Eusebius*; and is an interpolation, See *Bulli Op.* 226.  
 If he did say it, it was a paltry Evasion: for the *Arians*  
 never denied his Existence before his Generation according  
 to the Flesh; nor did *Eusebius* believe, they did so: but  
 on the contrary they declared; that the *Word* existed be-  
 fore all ages: and that divine Generation before all ages  
 was the beginning of his Existence. And they founded  
 their argument upon the same text, as the *Orthodox*;  
 which *Eunomius* the *Arian* has twice quoted: *Prov.* viii. 22.  
 which in the LXX runs thus; Κύριος ἐκτίσέ με ἀρχὴν ὁδῶν αὐτοῦ  
 εἰς ἔσχα αὐτοῦ, πρὸ τῆς αἰῶνος ἐθεμελίωσέ με, &c. Both parties be-  
 lieved the *Wisdom* here spoken-of to be the Son of God:  
 in which, it is probable, they were both mistaken; and  
 the word ought to be explained in a figurative sense, as it  
 is by Bishop *Patrick*.—However; upon this Text, which  
 is called the *Achilles* of the *Arians*; the *Arians* argued, that  
 the Son was *created* before all ages; *i. e.* from Eternity:  
 and the *Orthodox* argued, on the other side; that he exis-  
 ted in the Father from Eternity, as the *Attribute of Wisdom*;

---

(e) *Simplic.* in *Aristot.* *Phys.* fol. 265. *Cudworth*, 253,  
 254. (f) Reply to Dr. *Waterland's* Defence, p. 124.  
*Athan.* de Syn. *Arim* & *Seleu.* & *Hilar.* de Trin.



according to the doctrine of the *Platonists* : and was afterwards begotten into a Son.

The *Arians* believed ; that the *Word* of God never existed otherwise than as a *real Person*, or *conscious Substance* ; and that his Generation or Crëation was the beginning of his Existence ; and that he existed before all worlds, and consequently was *eternal* ; in the same sense in which the *Orthodox* believed the Generation of the Son to be *eternal*.

The Truth is, that the *Orthodox* had two senses to the word *Eternal* ; which they used, as best suited their convenience. Sometimes they used it in an absolute sense ; as when they speak of *eternal Existence*, as an Attribute of God : and sometimes in a more lax sense ; as when they speak of the *eternal Generation* of the Son of God. But finding the advantage the *Arians* made of this last, “ most  
“ of those who have disputed with the *Arians*, after the  
“ Council of *Nice*, have abandoned the system of the An-  
“ cients, concerning the two Productions ; as *Alexander*  
“ of *Alexandria* had abandoned it. This great man being,  
“ it seems, more used to this controversy, had found ;  
“ that this second Production gave mighty advantages to  
“ the *Arians*(g) :” for if the Generation was eternal, and Christ existed before it ; then a *created* Being might also be *eternal*. The Council of *Antioch* therefore, some years after that of *Nice*, anathematized all those that asserted,  
“ that there was an Age, or a Moment, before the Gene-  
“ ration of the Word(b) ;” which is directly contrary to what I have just quoted, as the Tenet of the *Athanasians*. So that those Orthodox Christians were under the same Anathema, with regard to the eternal Generation of the Son ; which they had bestowed upon the *Arians*, with regard to his eternal *Existence*. For nothing could be done

---

(g) Bp. Burnet's Animadversions on Mr. Hill, p. 44.

(b) Dupin, tom. ii. p. 322.



in those days, without an Anathema: every Mistake was magnified into a Heresy; and every Heresy was to be anathematized.

Secondly: As to the charge against *Arius*, that he did not believe the *Divinity* of Christ; it by no means appears to be true: for it was upon this very account; *viz.* because he worshipped the Son of God, supposing him at the same time to be a God created before all ages; that his adversaries accused him of Idolatry. Now, if he was idolatrous in believing Christ to be a created God: it is impossible he should at the same time be guilty of denying his Divinity.

Again, *Theodoret* tells us; it was the opinion of *Arius* and *Eunomius*, that Christ took a Body; but the Godhead or Divinity performed the Office of a Soul: Θεότητα δὲ ψυχῆς ἐνεσηκέναι τὴν χρεῖαν. *Athanasius* says; *Arius* taught, that Christ had the Flesh as a Covering to the Divinity or Godhead; Ἀρεῖ δὲ σάρκα μόνον πρὸς ἀποκρυφὴν τῆς Θεότητος ὁμολογεῖ· ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς ἐνωθεν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρώπου, τῆς ἐστὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, τὸν Λόγον ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ λείπει γέγονέναι (k). Now, if *Arius* believed the Divinity to be incarnate in Christ, and worshipped Christ as being God; How can it be said, that he denied his Divinity? The true reason, why the *Orthodox* accused the *Arians* of this, is; because the *Arians* supposed the *Word* to be created: upon which the *Orthodox* argued; that, if the *Arians* believed him to be created, they did not believe him to be God: whereas the *Arians* believed him to be both. Moreover, the *Arians* denied the *Word* to be ὁμοούσιον, consubstantial with the Father; thinking it an absurd and blasphemous opinion: and this also the *Nicene* Fathers looked-upon to be a denial of his *Divinity*; for they argued, That whatever is consubstantial with the

---

(k) *Athanasius*. de *Ad. Christ.* cum *Apol.* l. ii. n. 3. p. 942; and Note XXVI,



Father, is *God*; and whatever is non-consubstantial with the Father, is not *God*(*l*).

But both these propositions are denied by several of the *Orthodox*; as well as the *Arians*. For, as to the first; *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Lactantius*, and other antient Christian writers, thought even Angels, and the Souls of Men, to be consubstantial with, or generated from, the divine Substance; but they did not therefore believe them to be *God*. Reply to Waterland's defence, 285. Cudworth, 535. And the second Proposition, That whatever was not *consubstantial* with the Father was not *God*; must have been denied by all those, that believed the Son could receive his Divinity by the *Communication* of it; as *Origen*, *Lactantius*, &c. And farther, if the word *Consubstantial* be understood to mean, of the same *numerical* Substance; according to the notion fixed at the Council of *Lateran*; then this Proposition must also have been denied by *Greg. Nyssen*, *Cyril*, and all the *Orthodox*; who believed the Trinity to be three Individuals separately existing. Let any one read the second Chapter of Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. together with its Title of the Pre-existence and Divinity of Christ, and he will see that Eusebius had a very different meaning to the word Divinity than is generally affixed to it by the Moderns. See the End of the Postscript to the third Chapter.

X. p. 43, 59. *Favourers of the Arians*.—Mr. Richard Baxter calls the Opinion of *Arius*, a *Mistake*: and says; “the *Samosatenians*, and *Photinians*, and our late *Socinians*, are far more perniciously heretical, than *Arius*.” Church History, 48.

The ever memorable *John Hales*, of Eton, considers it in the same light; not as a *Heresy*, but a *Mistake*. He

---

(*l*) Cudworth, 608 to 611.



allows *Manichæism*, *Valentinianism*, *Marcionism*, and *Mohammedism*, to be truly and properly *Heresies*; for, says he, we know they *received* them *not*; but *minted* them themselves: and so knew, that they taught a Lie. But can any man vouch, that *Arius*, and *Nestorius*, and Others, who taught erroneously concerning the Trinity, or the Person of our Saviour, did maliciously invent what they taught; and did not rather fall into it by Error and Mistake? Hale's Tracts, 181. See the Arian Creed as above, p. 37.

*Erasmus*, the restorer of Learning, has given occasion both to his Friends and Enemies to think him an *Arian*. He saith, *Phil.* ii. 6. was the principal Argument of the Fathers against the *Arians*; but that, to say truth, it proves nothing against them: he notes, on *Eph.* v. 5. that the word *God*, when used absolutely, always signifies the Father: and he denies that the *Arians* were Heretics, in the *Scholia* to the third tome of St. *Jerom's* Epistles; and, in an Epistle to *Bilibaldus Pirkheimerus*, says; I could be of the *Arian* Persuasion, if the Church approved of it. [And *Bellarmino* says of him; that he could not more openly espouse the *Arian* Cause, than he has done in his Notes on the Fathers, and the principal Texts of Scripture. Pref. ad Lib. v. de *Christo*; Unit. Tracts, tom. v. p. 3. of the 5th Tract.

*Episcopus* says, that three equal *Persons* in the Godhead make three *Gods*; and denies, that the Lord *Jesus* is the Son of God by *substantial Generation*: i. e. by Generation from the Father's Substance or Essence.

*Sandius* undertakes to prove, in his Ecclesiastical History; that all Antiquity was *Arian*; and *Petavius* shews the *Antenicene* Fathers to have been of that opinion: upon which *Sandius* concludes, that he was of the same opinion himself. *Bulli* Def. Fid. Nic. Proœm. p. 4; *Petav.* de Trin. l. i. c. 5. § 7. & cap. 8. § 2; *Sandii* Eccles. Hist. l. i. 233. And *Dupin* declares; that he is not able to  
clear



clear the Apostolical Constitutions from *Arianism*, without doing them violence, p. 33. Note I.

Mr. *Chillingworth*, in answer to a Letter from a Friend; who desired to know, what judgement might be made of *Arianism* from the sense of Antiquity; writes as follows:

“ I was mistaken; in directing you to *Eusebius*, for the  
 “ matter you wot of. You shall find it in a witness,  
 “ much farther from exception herein than *Eusebius*;  
 “ even *Athanasius* himself, the greatest Adversary of that  
 “ Doctrine; and *Hilary*, who was his Second.” See the  
 first, in Ep. de Syn. *Arim. & Seleuc.* p. 917. D. tom. i.  
 Edit. *Par.* 1627. See the second, de Synod. fol. 97.  
 “ In the first you shall find; the Eighty Fathers, who  
 “ condemned *Samosatenus*, affirmed expressly—that the  
 “ Son is not of the *same Essence* of the Father: which is  
 “ to contradict formally the Council of *Nice*; which  
 “ decree’d the Son *cöessential* to the Father. In the second  
 “ you shall find these words, to the same purpose:—*Octo-*  
 “ *toginta Episcopi olim respuerunt tò Homöouision.* See also,  
 “ if you please, *Iust. con. Tryph.* p. 283, 356, 357;  
 “ *Tertull.* against *Prax.* cap. ix; *Novat. de Trin. in fine*,  
 “ who is joined with *Tertull. Athanas.* Ep. de fide div.  
 “ *Alex.* tom. i. p. 551; *Basil.* tom. ii. p. 802, 803, Ed.  
 “ *Par.* 1618. See St. *Hierome Apol.* 2, contr. *Ruff.* tom.  
 “ ii, p. 529. *Par.* 1579. See *Petav.* upon *Epiph.* his  
 “ *Panar. ad Hæres.* 69, *quæ est Arii*, 385. And consider  
 “ well how he clears *Lucian* the Martyr from *Arianism*;  
 “ and what he there confesses of all the ancient Fathers.

“ If you could understand *French*, I would refer you to  
 “ *Perron*, p. 633, of his Reply to King *James*; where  
 “ you shall find these words:—If a man should demand  
 “ of an *Arian*, if he would submit to the judgment of  
 “ the Church of the ages precedent to that of *Constantine*;  
 “ he would make no difficulty of it: but would himself  
 “ press, that the controversy might be decided by that  
 “ little which remains to us of the Authors of that time.

For



“ For an *Arian* would find in *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, and  
 “ others which remain of those ages, that the Son is the  
 “ *Instrument* of the Father; that the Father *commanded* the  
 “ Son, in the works of *Création*; that the Father and  
 “ the Son are *aliud et aliud*: which things he that should  
 “ now hold, now when the language of the Church is  
 “ more examined, would be esteemed a very *Arian*.

“ If you read *Bellarmino* touching this matter; you  
 “ shall find, that he is troubled exceedingly to find any  
 “ tolerable glosses for the speeches of the Fathers before  
 “ the Council of *Nice*, which are against him: and yet  
 “ he conceals the strongest of them; and to counterpoise  
 “ them, cites Authors that have indeed ancient *Names*;  
 “ but such as he himself has stigmatised for spurious or  
 “ doubtful, in his book *de Scrip. Eccles.*

“ Were I at leisure, and had a little longer time; I  
 “ could refer you to some, that acknowledge *Origen's*  
 “ judgement to be also against them in this matter.  
 “ And *Fisher*, in his Answer to Dr. *White's* Nine Ques-  
 “ tions, has a place almost parallel to the above-cited  
 “ out of *Perron*.

“ In a word, whosoever shall freely and impartially  
 “ consider of this thing; and how, on the other side,  
 “ the ancient Fathers' weapons against the *Arians* are in  
 “ a manner only places of Scripture; (and those now for  
 “ the most part discarded, as impertinent and uncon-  
 “ cluding;) and how in the Argument drawn from the  
 “ authority of the ancient Fathers, they are almost always  
 “ Defendents, and scarce ever Opponents; he shall not  
 “ choose but confess, or at least be very inclinable to be-  
 “ lieve; that the Doctrine of *Arius* is either a *Truth*, or  
 “ at least *no damnable Heresy*.” See the Life of Mr. *Chil-  
 lingworth*, by *Des Maizeaux*, p. 51; Essay on Spirit,  
 p. 116. See *Cudworth*, Int. Sys. l. i. c. iv. p. 595.

Bishop *Bull*, speaking of the sentiments of *Origen* upon  
 the Trinity, says; “ I conclude thus with myself, that



## 186 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

“ *Origen*, who hath been so severely censured by Divines  
 “ both antient and modern, was really Catholic in the  
 “ article of the sacred Trinity: although in the manner  
 “ of explaining that Article, he sometimes speaks other-  
 “ wise than the Catholics do; which is no more than  
 “ almost all the Fathers did, who lived before the Coun-  
 “ cil of *Nice*.” *Bulli Def. Fid. Nic. Sect. ii, c. 9. § 22.*  
*Essay on Spirit, p. 120.*

XI. p. 45. Mr. *Daillé*, towards the end of the third  
 Chapter of his treatise of the right use of the Fathers,  
 says of them; “ Let the reader now judge, whether or no  
 “ these writings having come down through so many  
 “ ages, and passed through so many hands, which are  
 “ either known to have been notoriously guilty of for-  
 “ gery, or at least strongly suspected of it; the Truth in  
 “ the mean time having made on its part very weak re-  
 “ sistance against these impostures; it be not a very hard  
 “ matter to discover, among the infinite number of books  
 “ that are now extant, and go under the names of the  
 “ Fathers: which are those that *truly* belong to them,  
 “ and which again are those that are *falsely* imposed upon  
 “ them.”

And in another place, he says; “ What makes the  
 “ difficulty to find the Truth still greater; those writings  
 “ of the Fathers, which are legitimate, have been in  
 “ many places corrupted; by Time, Ignorance, Fraud,  
 “ both pious and malicious; both in former and later  
 “ ages:” which he shews to have been done both by the  
 “ Orthodox and Heretics. “ They have made no  
 “ scruple, from the beginning of the sixth century, of  
 “ cutting-off from the most sacred books they had, what-  
 “ soever was not agreeable to the taste of the Times.”  
 P. 49.

This is just what the *Jews* are accused of; with regard  
 to their altering the *Targums*. *Allix Jew. Ch. p. 95.*  
 These



These forgeries, Mr. Daillé says, have in a manner borne-down all good and true books; p. 32. Several of them he mentions; and tells us, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* asserts; that the *Greeks* have corrupted *all* the Councils, except the *first*: p. 52. In this accusation of forgery, he says, the *Greeks* and *Latins* did bandy stiffly against one another; each of them, as may be easily perceived, having more appearance of Reason and Truth in their accusation of their adversary, than in excusing and defending themselves.

“ Nor have they contented themselves with *corrupting*  
 “ only in this manner some certain books; out of which  
 “ we might perhaps have been able to discover, what the  
 “ opinion and sense of the ancients have been: but they  
 “ have also wholly *abolished* a very great number.” Of  
 which he gives several examples; and concludes his  
 fourth Chapter, by saying; that, the several causes he  
 had before mentioned, have rendered the Writings and  
 venerable Monuments of Antiquity so embroiled and per-  
 plexed; that it will be a hard matter for any man to  
 make any clear and perfect Discovery of those things,  
 which so many *Artists* have endeavoured to conceal from  
 us. P. 68.

XII. p. 46. Mr. *Chillingworth*, in the Preface to his Book, quotes *Hosius*, *Gordonius Huntlauius*, *Gretserus*, *Tannerus*, *Vega*, *Possevin*, *Wiekus* and others as so many witnesses to shew, that in the opinion of the *Papists* the modern Doctrine of the Trinity cannot be proved either from the Scripture, or the Ancients.

XIII. p. 51. It is certain; that most of the ancient Fathers, before the Council of *Nice*, have held a Generation of the Word *in tempore*; a little before the Creation of the World: the learned Dr. *Bull* has given us a long list of them. *Just. Mart. Ap. 2. p. 66. E. Dial. cum*



## 188 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

*Tryph.* p. 285. D. 358, 13. C. 359. B. *Athenag.* Legat. pro Christianis, p. 10. D. *Theoph.* ad *Autol.* p. 88. B. p. 100. B. *Tatian,* p. 145. B. *Clem. Alex.* Strom. v. p. 553. B. 591. B. Strom. vi. p. 644. A. Strom. vii. p. 700. C. *Tertul.* Apol. c. 21. p. 19. contra *Herm.* c. 3. c. 18, 20, 45. adv. *Prax.* c. 5, 7, 12. *Lact.* lib. 2. c. 8. p. 177, 178. l. 4. c. 6. p. 364, 365, 366. Bishop *Burnet's* Animadversions on Mr. *Hill's* Book, p. 44.

XIV. p. 51. That Christ was the Angel of the Covenant is held by *Just. Mart.* Dial. cum *Tryph.* p. 275, A. 283. B. and 357. B. C. in *Tertull.* against *Prax.* p. 648. in *Novat.* lib. de *Trin. Theoph.* l. 2. ad *Autol.* p. 100. *Tertull.* adv. *Jud.* c. 9. p. 194. adv. *Marcion.* l. 2. c. 27. p. 395, 396. Synod. *Antioch.* Concil. to. 1. Ed. *Lab.* to. 1. p. 845. D. *Euseb.* Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 2.—Quoted in Bishop *Burnet's* Animadversions on Mr. *Hill's* Book, p. 46. See Letter iii.

XV. p. 52. *Quod ad cetera post consecuta Symbola, quæ in Conciliis Oecumenicis, ut vocantur, cusa fuerunt; ea, quia recentiora sunt, cum his (namely, with the Creeds and Confessions of the three first Ages) comparari non merentur. Et si, quod res est, dicendum est; ea ab Episcopis inter se magna cum æmulatione jurgantibus & contendentibus ex fervore, si non furore partiumque studio insano ac maleferiato, præcipitata potius videri debent quam a compositis animis profecta.* And he adds; (by which you may understand he meant the Nicene Creed particularly) *Quis enim nescit, quam acres in Synodo Nicæna disceptationes, quam præfracta jurgia inter Episcopos excitata fuerint?* *Instit. Theol.* lib. iv. c. 34; *Bulli Op.* Proëm. p. 3.

XVI. p. 55, 59, 60, 65, 133. The Schole of *Alexander* in *Egypt*, which was instituted by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, renewed the old Academy or *Platonic* Philosophy, and reformed



formed it: The first famous *Platonist* of this Schole seems to have been *Potamon*, in the time of *Augustus* and *Tiberius Cæsar*. To him we may add *Ammonius*, the Master of *Plutarch*, (not the Master of *Origen*;) who lived in the Time of *Nero* and *Vespasian*. But it flourished most under *Ammonius*, (the Master of *Origen* and *Plotinus*;) who borrowed his choicest Contemplations from the sacred Scriptures, which he mix'd with his *Platonic* Philosophifings: and it is disputed by *Eusebius* and *Porphyry*, whether he died a Pagan or a Christian. He had great advantages; being bred-up in the same Schole with *Philo Judæus*; (supposed Author of the Book of the Wisdom of *Solomon*.) Besides which, there was in the town of *Alexandria* a famous Church, (settled by *Mark* the Evangelist;) and the Schole was continued by *Pantænus*, *Clemens Alexand.* &c. *Gale's Court of the Gentiles*, p. 42, 253.) And after him successively by *Origen*, *Heraclius*, *Dionysius*, *Athenadore*, *Malcyon*, and *Didymus*; who reached the Year 350: the which Doctors gave an admirable advance to the Church. The town was for this reputed the universal Schole of the Church; (*Morellius* of Church Disc. lib. iii. c. 14. p. 260.) And the *Platonic* Philosophy was in the highest authority among the Fathers. "For it was the common vogue, that it differed little " from *Moses*; yea, *Cælius Rhodius* thinks, that *Plato* differs little from Christ's Placits." *Gale*, 225. *Hornius* Hist. Phil. l. iii. c. 14.

*Origen*, Scholar to *Ammonius*, though a professed Christian, yet followed his Master's steps; mixing the *Platonic* Philosophy and the doctrines of the Gospel together; hoping thereby to gain credit to the Christian Religion: and, with *Clemens Alexandrinus* and others, made use of the *Platonic* and *Pythagoric* Philosophy, as a medium to illustrate the grand mysteries of Faith: thereby to gain credit among those *Platonic* Sophists. *Gale*, 265. And *F. Simon* says; *La melange de la Platonicienne avec la Religion Chrétienne ne tendoit pas a la destruction de la Foy orthodoxe; mais*



*mais a persuader plus facilement aux Grecs le Christianisme.* Hist. Crit. du Nouv. Test. Tom. iii. This no doubt was the Intent; and it succeeded as all such methods have done. Among other *Platonic* Mysteries, that of the *Logos*, on which *Ammonius* and *Plotinus*, both Heads of the *Platonic* Schole, had commented, was taken and applied to the divine *Logos* explicated by St. *John*; which gave occasion and foundation to many philosophic disputes and contests in the Schole and Church of *Alexandria*, as also to the Heresy of *Arius*; as it had done to that of *Samosatenus* before. Upon which *Morellius* the *French* Reformer says, the *Arian* heresy had its rise from the particular conferences of learned men in the city of *Alexandria*; (Disc. l. 2. c. iv. p. 87.) and *Justinian* acquaints us, that these philosophical notions about the *Platonic Logos*, and *Trias*, which supposed a real difference in Nature between ὁ πατήρ the Father, ὁ λόγος the Word, and ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ κόσμῳ, the Soul of the World, gave occasion to the *Arian* heresy: (*Just.* on John i. 1. and § 8.) and *Athanasius* himself allows, that the Word ὁ γεννητός, used in the dispute with the *Arians*, was taken from the *Platonists*; and finds fault with the *Arians*, for not using it as they (the *Platonists*) did. *Cudworth*, 623. In short, there is not the least doubt, that the disputes upon the Trinity arose first in this Schole. “Philosophy and Curiosity,” says *Morellius*, corrupted this Schole; and by consequence the Church:” and it is remarkable, that *Alexander*, *Arius*, and *Athanasius*, were all preferred in that Church.

According to this account of things, Mr. *Gale*, (vol. ii. p. 134) after mentioning some of *Origen*’s opinions about the Trinity, a hundred Years before the *Arian* Controversy, says; “These notions about the Trinity, he (*Origen*) imbibed from that *Platonic* philosophy, then taught in the Schole of *Alexandria* where he was instructed; which acknowledged a Trinity, namely, 1. ὁ πατήρ the Father, whom they made ὁ θεὸς ὁ ὢν, the supreme Being. 2. ὁ νοῦς the Mind,



Mind, or  $\delta\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$  the Reason; whom they made inferior to the first: and 3.  $\eta\ \psi\upsilon\chi\eta\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\acute{o}\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ , the Mundane Spirit; which they made inferior to both the former: and hence *Origen* traduced his Trinity," &c.

And this is the more probable, if we consider what is said by *Dupin*; that before *Origen's* Time, the word *Trinity* was not known in the Christian Church. For he tells us; that *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, (contemporary with *Origen* and *Clemens*) was the first who used the Word *Trinity* to signify three divine Persons; and he remarks, that he calls the third *Wisdom* (*Sageſſe*;) which is the more likely, as the Holy Ghost was not so soon acknowledged to be an *Hypostasis*, or real *Substance*; but only an *Attribute*: "It  
" being more than was acknowledged by the *Nicene* Fa-  
" thers themselves; they not so much as determining that  
" the Holy Ghost was an *Hypostasis* (or *Person*;) much less  
" that he was *God*."

" The Council of *Nice*, says *Mr. Souverain*, did not at  
" all touch upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost." Far  
from it. The Holy Ghost was so little consider'd, at that  
time; that some Fathers of the Council would have made  
no difficulty to give the superiority or precedence to the  
Virgin *Mary*; in making Her the third Person of the *Tri-*  
*nity*. This we learn from *Elmacinus* and *Patricides*. *Hott-*  
*tinger*, Hist. Orient. 1. 2. p. 227. The Council of *Con-*  
*stantinople* did not dare to speak of it; but very indirectly:  
and in the time of *Basil*, they were shy of calling the Holy  
Ghost directly and formally *God*. It is worth while to  
hear what *Petavius* says upon the Subject. The Catholic  
Church accommodating itself, through prudential Reasons,  
to human weakness, came not to the full profession of its  
Doctrines; but by little and little, and by certain degrees.  
For it had defined nothing in express terms concerning the  
Divinity of the Holy Ghost, during the four first ages;  
or but a little before. Certainly *Gregory Naz.* excuses the  
proceeding of *St. Basil*. (*Orat.* 20, *Ep.* 26.) who having  
right



right sentiments of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, yet for the good of the Church, would by no means call him *God* openly and formally; because he was not ignorant, that there were many, otherwise good Catholics; who would be scandalized, that *that name* should be given to the Holy Spirit: the usage of it not being free and public among the Catholics, till after the second general Council held in 381. *Petav. de Trin. l. 2. c. vii. § 2. Le Plat. dev. part 2. c. 12.* For the *Pneumatomachi*, who denied the Divinity of the Spirit, were yet the more powerful parts of the Church. *Petav. lib. 1. c. xiv. fol. 14 and 21.* See also *Huetii Orig. l. 2. c. ii. q. 2. sect. 10. Unit. Tr. tom. ii. p. 18.*

And, what is a farther proof of this, the ancient Fathers, when they mention the objections of the Heathens upon this Subject, do not speak of them as levelled against the notion of *three* Gods; but of *two* only: whereas, if the notion of the *Divinity* of the Holy Ghost had then been fashionable; they would have made the same objection, as is now made by the *Jews* and *Mohammedans*; not against *two* Gods, but against *three*. I shall only quote *Lactantius Inst. l. iv. c. xxix. Fortasse quærat hic aliquis, &c.* “Here some one may perhaps ask; how, “ though Christians profess to worship but *one* God; yet “ we seem to believe and hold *two* Gods; God the Fa- “ ther, and God the Son? This doctrine hath been a “ great stumbling-block to many; who confess, that in “ other points of the Christian doctrine, we speak what “ is probable and fit to be embraced; but in *this* they “ think we stumble, that we hold a *second* God; and him “ also a mortal one; or one who could die.”

Now if the divisions of the Church were derived from the corruptions of that Schole; (as we are told by *Morel-  
lius, Justinian*, and others:) we shall probably understand the nature of them the better, by considering the system of the *Platonic* Trinity; as we are told, that the Chris-  
tians



tians rather endeavoured to accommodate the Scriptures to the *Platonic* Philosophy ; than by the help of the Scriptures to reform that Philosophy ; tampering betimes rather to bring Christianity down to Philosophy, than to make Philosophy truckle under the truth and simplicity of the Scriptures : “ which Philosophy being only a sophistication of Religion, proved an effectual door, to let-in all the errors and antichristian abominations, which have lien in the bosom of the Christian Church ever since.” (*Gale*, 265.) What those errors and abominations were, we shall best conjecture ; by understanding the *Platonic* system.

*Porphyry*, a Scholar of *Plotinus*, expounding the sentiments of *Plato*, saith ; that the Essence of God proceeds even to *three Hypostases* : but that the supreme God is τῷ ἀγαθῷ, and that after him the second is δημιουργός, the prime Opificer, or Crëator ; moreover that the third is ἡ ψυχὴ τῷ κόσμῳ, the mundane Soul, or universal Spirit : for the Divinity extended itself to the Soul of the Universe. *Cyrl. Alexan.* con. *Jul.* lib. i. p. 34. Edit. *Par.* 1638. *Gale*, 383, &c.

These three *Hypostases* were called *Ouranus*, *Chronus* and *Zeus* ; three Natures, three Principles, three Gods : and were supposed all together to be One Θεῶν, *Numen* or *Divinity*. And this word was applied to them all together, and to each of them singly ; tho’ the Father was properly called by them, as well as by the Christians, πηγὴ τῆς Θεότητος, the Fountain of the Godhead : and *Plato* calls him τέτε ἡγεμόνος καὶ αἰτίας πάντος πάντη the Father of the Prince and cause of all things ; meaning to say, the Father of the second *Hypostasis*. *Cudworth* 385, 588, 407.

The three *Hypostases* of *Plato*’s Trinity are not only all *eternal* ; but *necessarily existent* and *absolutely undestroyable*. For the first can no more exist without the second, which is ἀνλοσοφία, the wisdom by which he himself is wise ; (p.



575.) nor the first and second without the third; than original Light can exist without its splendor or coruscation, or effulgency: and consequently, they are not creatures. *Cudworth*, 577.

And when *Plato* asserts, that the Mind or second *Hypostasis* is γενέσεως with the first; it is all one as if he had said, it is συγγενής, and ὁμοειδής and ὁμογενής with it: all which words are used by *Athanasius*, as synonymous with ὁμοούσιος (*coessential* or *consubstantial*.) In this the *Nicene Council* agreed with the *Platonists*; and differed from *Arius*. And these three *Hypostases* are so closely joined together, as to be (*tantum non*) all-but the same; as the splendor is indivisibly joined with the Sun. They likewise seem to give to their three *Hypostases* such an ἐμπεριχώρησις *circumincession* and mutual *inbeing*, as the Christians do. *Cudworth* 578, 590.

They explain ἐσία and ὑπόστασις, as *Athanasius* and *Cyril* do, to differ only as a Species from an Individual (*Athanasius* in his Treatise on the Syn. of *Arim.* and *Seleuc.* vol. i. 934, written towards the latter end of his life, says; ἡ δὲ ὑπόστασις ἐσία ἐστὶν καὶ ἐδὲν ἄλλο σημαίνον. Bishop of *Clogher* on Spirit, p. 135.) So that they understood the Essence or Godhead, not to be *singular*, but *generic*; the ἐσία differing from the *Hypostasis*, as τὸ κοινὸν *general* from τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὸν *particular*: each person being supposed to have its *singular numerical* Essence. *Cudworth*, 597. Reply to Dr. *Waterland's* defence, p. 443. *Ousia* means substance in general, and *Hypostasis* *particular* substance: as when we speak of Fire *in general*, or a particular Fire: but in both cases it signifies the Substance of Fire. Thus *Thomas* and *John* are of the same *Ousia*; but not of the same *Hypostasis*.

They declare the three *Hypostases* to be one Divinity or Godhead, because they have an essential and gradual subordination in them; the second being the image of the first, and the third the image of the first and second: whereas were they supposed to be perfectly coequal, and to have no essential dependence upon one another, they could



could not be concluded by these *Platonists* to be any other than *three cöordinate* Gods; having only a *generical* or *specific* identity, and so no more one, than *three* Men are one *Man*: a thing, which the *Platonic* philosophy is utterly abhorrent from; as that which is inconsistent with the perfect Monarchy of the Universe, and highly derogatory from the honour of the supreme God, and first cause. Their intention in this subordination of the *Hypostases* of their Trinity being no other, than to exclude thereby a plurality of cöordinate and independent Gods; which they supposed an absolute cöequality of them would infer. *Cudworth* 590, 595, 596.

Another reason given for this gradual subordination in the *Platonic* Trinity is mentioned by the learned Bishop *Rust*, in his letter of Resolution concerning *Origen* and his Opinions; re-published in the *Phoenix*. That if the second and third *Hypostasis* did receive from a necessity of Nature, equal perfection and plenitude in every respect from the first; then the second and third *Hypostases* having the *same necessity* and *plenitude* of Nature, must unavoidably produce as many more; and so on *ad infinitum*: and the number of the divine *Hypostases* must be infinite; which is absolutely contrary to the *Platonic* system. For,

*Plotinus* writing against some *Gnostics* of his time, who would make more of these divine *Hypostases* than three; concludes from philosophical principles, that there can be neither more nor fewer. For, as he argues, having placed first, the *simple Good*; we must set the *Mind*, or supreme Intellect, next after it; and then the *universal Soul* in the third place: for this is the right order, according to Nature; neither to make more intelligibles (or universal Principles) nor yet fewer than these three. For he that will contract the number, and make fewer of them; must of necessity suppose Mind and Soul to be the same, or else Mind and the first Good. But that these



three are diverse from one another, hath been demonstrated by us: &c. *Cudworth*, 578.

These are the chief Principles of the *Platonists* upon this subject; and Dr. *Cudworth* says, there is nothing in the genuine Doctrine of *Athanasius*, but what a true and genuine *Platonist* would readily subscribe: and that the *Platonic* system, with all its Faults, is more agreeable to the principles of Christianity and Reason; than the Trinity of *Cyril*, *Gregory*, and several other reputed orthodox Fathers. *Cudworth*, 621.

Nevertheless, there are other Christians; who accuse the Christian *Platonists*, and *Origen* in particular, and his followers; as “affecting to reduce the Scriptures, and “make them stoop to *Plato’s* Dogma and Schole.” (*Huet. Orig.* l. 2. c. ii. *Gale*, p. 266.) and charge them with almost all the great corruptions of Christianity. But as he is accused by some, he is defended by others. So that after all our Examinations upon this subject among the Fathers, we are at a loss to know in general; whether it was *Origen*, that made the Scriptures stoop to Philosophy; or his Adversaries: and more particularly, what parts of the present system are the genuine and original Doctrines of Christianity; and what parts are taken from the *Platonists*: who believed a Trinity, long before Christianity existed.

If we endeavour to trace the Belief of a Trinity as high as we can; we are not to imagine, that *Plato* was the inventor of this Trinity of *Hypostases*; it being much older than his time: tho’ it does not appear, that it was ever before wrought into such a philosophical system; as it was by Him and his followers. *Plotinus* says; it appears from *Plato’s* own Writings, that these doctrines are not new or of yesterday; but have been very anciently delivered, tho’ obscurely: *Parmenides* before him having insisted on them, and the discourses now extant being only explications of them. Now *Parmenides* was a *Pythagorean*; whence



whence it is probable, that the doctrine of a divine Triad was one of the *Arcana* of that Schole; (*Cudworth*, 546.) and that the oriental maxim which *Pythagoras* brought with him into Greece, that God was ἐν καὶ πολλὰ, related to that Doctrine: for the Trinity of *Parmenides* was ἐν τὸ πᾶν, ἐν πάντα, ἐν καὶ πολλά. (*Gale*, 48.) And this is confirmed in that *Numenius* a *Pythagorean* entertained it as such; and *Moderatus* affirms it to be a *Pythagoric Cabbala*; and *Jamblichus* says, there were three Gods praised by the *Pythagoreans*. But farther,

The *Pythagorean* philosophy was derived from the *Orphic Cabbala*; as *Proclus* testifies. (See *Cudworth*, 305, 306.) For *Orpheus* introduced a *Trimorphic* God, a tri-form Deity; and *Amelius* tells us, that *Plato's* three Kings were the same with the Trinity of *Orpheus*;—*Phanes*, *Ouranus*, and *Chronus*. But *Plato* nevertheless asserted one self-existent Deity and original of all things; and says, all things were made by one Deity, under these three several names; *Light*, *Council*, and *Life*.

*Orpheus*, *Pythagoras*, and *Plato* all travelling into *Egypt*, were there initiated in the *arcane* Theology of the *Egyptians*: whence it seems probable, that this was an *Egyptian* doctrine. *Athanasius Kircherus* does not doubt it; and *Jamblichus* mentions the three *Hypostases* by the names of *Eikton*, *Emeph* (or *Cneph*) and *Ptha*. *Cudworth*, 353, 354.

*Dr. Cudworth* observes also some footsteps of a Trinity, in the *Mithraic* mysteries among the *Persians*; derived from *Zoroaster*: that the *Persian Mithras* was called *trip-lasios*, (threefold;) and the three *Hypostases* were *Oromasdes*, *Mithras*, and *Arimanes*. And as *Arimanes* signifies ὁ Ἄϊδης or *Pluto*; he observes, that *Pluto* was the third in the *Persian*, as well as in *Homer's* Trinity; and quotes from these Oracles Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει Τριάς, ἧς Μόνας ἄρχει· which by the way is not a Trinity, but a Quaternity, like the Trinity of *Peter Lombard*. See p. 36.

He



He observes also a Trinity of Gods among the *Samothracians*; called by a *Hebrew* name *Cabirim*, or the mighty Gods: whence he supposes, it might be originally derived from the *Hebrews*; and says, the *Roman Capitoline Trinity* was from hence derived. 288, 289, 290, 547, 548.

But Sir *Is. Newton* says; when the mysteries of “*Ceres*” were instituted at *Eleusis*, there were other mysteries “instituted to her and her daughter and her daughter’s husband in the island of *Samothrace*, by the *Phœnician* names of *Dii Cabiri*; *Axieros*, *Axiokersa*, and *Axiokerses*: that is, the great Gods *Ceres*, *Proserpina*, and *Pluto*.” *Chronol.* 157.

In like manner it may be observed; that a Trinity of Gods in the same Family was no uncommon thing. *Thoas* or *Cinyras* was worshipped in *Egypt*, by the name of *Vulcan* or *Baal Canaan*; and his wife *Calycopis*, the mother of *Æneas*, by the name of *Venus*: the *Dea Cypria* and *Dea Syria* of the ancients: and their son *Gingris*, by the name of *Adon* or *Adonis*, the Lord: and in the *Capitoline Trinity*, *Jupiter*, and his wife *Juno*, and his daughter *Minerva*. *Cudworth*, 450. Also *Jupiter Ammon*, and his wife *Titæa*, and son *Bacchus* or *Osiris*; and afterwards *Osiris*, and his wife *Isis*, and son *Orus*. *Newton’s Chron.* 224. So that no argument can be drawn either from the *Hebrew* or *Phœnician* word *Cabirim*, or from the number of *Hypostases* among the Philosophers being a Trinity; that it was derived from the *Hebrews*. Lord *Mornay du Plessis Marly*, in the 6th Chapters of the Truth of the Christian Religion; the 5th and 6th Chapters of which I met with in a Pamphlet published by Mr. *Bellamy* in 1721: carries the origin of this Doctrine much higher. His words are these. Let us now see, what the *Devils* themselves have been forced to acknowledge: who, either by the assistance of the sacred Scriptures, or by having been once the happy inhabitants of the realms of Light above; have had some insight into this important and mysterious Doctrine:



Doctrine: and certainly it must be no small satisfaction to observe, with what reluctance those restless, haughty, and obdurate spirits have submitted to the irresistible charms of Truth. *Thulis*, an ancient proud monarch of *Egypt*, asked *Serapis* their chief Dæmon; (and conjured him by all that was sacred not to deceive him:) what Prince ever had been, or should be greater than himself? To whom he answered;

Πρῶτα Θεός, μετέπειτα Λόγος, καὶ Πνεῦμα σὺν αὐτοῖς,  
Πάντα δὲ σύμφυτα ταῦτα, καὶ εἰς ἓν ἰοντα τέτυκται,  
Οὐ κράτ' αἰώνιον· πᾶσιν ὠκέσι, θνητὲ, βάδιζε·  
Τὸν βίον ἄδηλον διανύων σὲ πολὺ κρείσσων·

*Primus Deus, deinde Verbum, & Spiritus cum his;*  
*Omnia vero cognata illa, & in unum compacta,*  
*Cujus potestas æterna: citis pedibus, mortalis, abi;*  
*Vitam qui ignotam transegit te potior est multo.*

It is thus translated; I suppose, by Mr. *Bellamy*:

Three God-almighties fill Heaven's awful Throne: }  
The Father sits supreme, next him his Son, }  
The Spirit last: and yet these Three are One. }  
With speed, fond Querist, from these altars fly: }  
Too deep, too intricate this Mystery, }  
For You to comprehend, or be resolv'd by Me. }

The noble Lord confirms this with another quotation from the oracle of *Apollo*. However, Mr. *Bellamy* seems here to have forgotten the *Athanasian Creed*; that there are not *three* Almighty, but *one* Almighty. What credit is to be given to the Devil, when he is upon his oath, and conjured by all that is sacred, I shall not examine; as the World is now too wise to believe a word of the Story.

Dr.



Dr. Cudworth speaks of certain significations in the Old Testament of *Plurality* in the Deity, or of more than one *Hypostasis*; but in truth there are no such significations: but the Unity of God is asserted throughout the whole, as strongly as possible; being, as *Maimonides* says, *fundamentum fundamentorum*. The God *Jehovah*, the Word of *Jehovah*, and the Spirit of *Jehovah*, are indeed there spoken of; but they are spoken of as *different* Beings, except where the *Spirit* of God means the *Person* of God. There is not the least intimation in the Old Testament, that these three are *one* Substance, Essence or Nature; there is no Coessentiality or Consubstantiality once hinted at. And tho' Mr. Gale, p. 48, calls the Pagan Trinity *dim, poor notices* of a Trinity, *weak, corrupt traditions*; it seems in truth to be much more clearly spoken of as a Trinity in Unity by the *Platonists*, and in the Heathen oracles, than any where in the *Jewish* Scriptures, or in any divine *Cabbala*, as pretended by *Proclus*, and favoured by Dr. Cudworth. For as to any *Cabbala* of authority, there is no such thing.

Dr. Cudworth says from *Proclus*; it cannot be conceived how such a Trinity of divine *Hypostases* should be discovered by human wit and reason; and therefore it must be from a divine *Cabbala*. But this is very fallacious; first; because, by this Argument, a *false* opinion of the Trinity may be proved to be from a divine *Cabbala*; as well as the *true* one: and therefore his *Consequence* is false. Besides, the Christians argue with great appearance of truth; when they tell us, the reveled Laws of God may be concluded to be *divine*; because they are *agreeable* to those Truths, which he has written in our Breasts: but they must not argue at the same time, that others are *divine*; because they are apparently *contrary* to the Truths we find in our own breasts.—This is inconsistent.—But farther, the *Premises* in this argument are as false as the  
Con-



Conclusion. For the doctrine of a Trinity is not at all inconceivable; but very easy to be accounted-for more ways than one. As first,

It might arise from Natural Philosophy; which, as *Cicero* observes, was mixed with their Divinity; and formed their Religion. For as the World is naturally divided into Earth, Air, and Sea; the Government of it by three Persons seems to want no other foundation, to become a doctrine among the *Polytheists*; even while they were believed by the Unitarians to be the same Being. Accordingly, *Dr. Cudworth* says; “ that *Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto*, were not *three* real distinct substantial beings, but “ only so many several *names* for *one* supreme God, (according to the true and natural Theology of the Pagans) is “ thus plainly declared by *Pausanias* in his *Corinthiacs*: “ where he expounds the meaning of a certain Statue of “ *Jupiter* with three eyes, called the Country *Jupiter* of “ the *Trojans*: viz. to signify that it is the same God “ which ruleth in three several parts of the World; the “ Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth.” (*Cudworth*, p. 492, and 450.) And thus the triple *Hecate* is considered as one Being, acting under different characters; being *Luna* in the Heaven, *Diana* on Earth, and *Proserpine* in Hell. And hence might arise the superstitious regard to the number *Three*; from whence they feigned *Three* Furies, *Three* infernal Judges, *Three* Fates, *Three* Graces, *Three* Syrens, *Three* Gorgons, *Three* Cyclopes: and used it in conjuration, Τεῖς εἰς ἑμὸν ἔπτυσσα κόλπον.

But, besides their Natural Philosophy, we may consider their Metaphysics. *Mr. Souverain* observes; that *Thyſius*, in his notes on *Lactantius*, has penetrated to the first source of this Philosophy which consists in a Trinity of Principles, from an other reason; God, says he, created the World, and adorned it with a thousand Wonders; that the Spirit of Man contemplating so surprizing a Work, may admire the *Wisdom*, the *Goodness*, and the *Power* of the great Opi-



## 202 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ficer. *Le Plat. dev.* p. 55. And these *Attributes* and *Qualities*, being considered as so many Substances; hence arose so many Trinities in Unity. And Dr. *Cudworth* himself is of the same opinion, when he says; “the three *Hypostases* of the *Platonists* do not seem to be any thing else than infinite *Goodness*, infinite *Wisdom*, and infinite *Power* and *Love*.” *Cudworth*, 590; and again, “We have proposed the three principal [Properties, or] Attributes of the Deity, says he; the first whereof is infinite *Goodness*, with *Fecundity*; the second, infinite *Knowledge* and *Wisdom*; and the last, infinite, active, and perceptive power. From which three divine Attributes, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* seem to have framed their Trinity of *Archical Hypostases*; such as have the nature of Principles in the Universe, &c. p. 206.” And this foundation being once laid, other Trinities were also invented; which were used in their metaphysical disquisitions. Thus, as I observed, *Orpheus* supposes; all things were made by God, under three names; *Light*, *Council*, and *Life*: *Amelius* considers the Trinity, as he that is, he that has, and he that beholds: 306. and *Proclus Lycius* mentions three Types of God; *Bounty*, *Immutability*, and *Unity*. (*Gale*, 258.) And *Vossius* says of him; that he endeavoured to reduce all things to Trinities, from *Plato’s Republic*. *Lib. ii.* How like is this to the three modal distinctions, by which Divines do usually explain the Trinity; viz. *Life*, *Understanding*, and *Will*; and St. *Austine’s* Trinity of *Mind*, *Wisdom*, and *Love*? *Unit. Tr.* vol. iv. *Traet* concerning *Emlyn*, p. 6. And Note XXII.—And in this sense *Eusebius* may well be understood; when he complains, that the Pagans did θεοῖς τὴν ἀψύχον ἐποίησαν deify inanimate Nature: for these are the second Gods, which *Athanasius* considers in his book against the *Greeks*; viz. the several notions and powers of the supreme God deified. *Cud.* 512, 518, 531. And the *Æons* of *Valentinian* were the divine Properties, of which his

Fol-



Followers made personal Substances. Pearson vindic. of Ignat. pt. 2. c. 5. Gelafius in annot. in lib. 1. Irenæi.

Mr. Graverol in his *Moses vindicatus*, p. 89, acknowledges; that “whatever is said touching the origin of  
“Philosophy, among the *Egyptians*, the *Chaldeans*, and  
“the *Greeks*, is a very uncertain Tradition; and his  
“Opinion is, that it was the fruit of their Studies and  
“Experience.” Upon which Mr. *Souverain* says; “That  
“which he advances of Philosophy in general, is still  
“more true with regard to the particular subject, which  
“treats of three Principles. For by their long researches  
“into the origin of the World, and not by Tradition,  
“ (unless it be a very uncertain and confused one) it is,  
“that they have come to the knowledge of these three  
“principles, Goodness, Wisdom, and Power.” *Le Plat. dev.* c. v. And this supposition is agreeable to the notions of the *Platonists* themselves; in proving the truth of their opinions from the Principle of Philosophy and Reason: which is inconsistent with the argument used by *Proclus*, to prove a divine *Cabbala*. I shall only add; that the most learned of the *Platonists* did not believe their *Trinity* to be the supreme God; but a *Monad* over them: and many of the nations, Dr. *Cudworth* mentions, held a *Duality* of a good and a bad Being. So that the notion of a *Trinity* was not so common, as is represented. *Unit. Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 16, 17. much less the notion of a *Trinity* in *Unity*.

XVII. p. 60. *That the Son was believed to be equal to the Father in Essence only.*——*Basil* says; though the Son be in *Order* second to the Father, (because produced by him;) and in *Dignity* also, forasmuch as the Father is the Cause and Principle of his Being: yet he is not, for all that, second in *Nature*; because there is *one* Divinity in both. *Basil*. 3 con. *Eunom*. *Cudworth*, 607.—And *Au'stine*, writing against the *Arians*, saith; “though they conceive



“ the *Power* of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost to be  
 “ unequal; yet let them for all that confess, that their  
 “ *Natures* are equal at least.” *Cud. ibid. Aug. con. Serm.*  
*Arian. c. xviii.* And therefore Dr. *Cudworth* says;  
 “ When *Athanasius* and the other orthodox Fathers do so  
 “ frequently assert the *Equality* of all the three Persons,  
 “ this is to be understood in way of opposition to *Arius*  
 “ only; who made the Son to be unequal to the Father,  
 “ as being ἑτεροούσιος of a different *Essence* from him.”  
*Cud. p. 600.* The equality they mention entirely regard-  
 ing the *Essence*. And in like manner he says; “ When  
 “ the *Athanasians* quote the tradition of the ancient  
 “ Church, and *Origen's* testimony against the *Arians*; it  
 “ was only to prove the *Eternity* and *Divinity* of the Son:  
 “ but not at all for such an *absolute Coequality* of him with  
 “ the Father, as would exclude all *Dependence* and *Subor-*  
 “ *dination*, and *Inferiority*.” For it is upon their unani-  
 mous agreement in these points, that *Petavius* taxes the  
 Fathers with *Platonism*, and corrupting the Purity of the  
 Faith. *Cudw. 595.*

And this farther appears, not only from *Athanasius* him-  
 self; [who sometimes speaks in the stile of the ancient Fa-  
 thers, that the Majesty of the Father is superior to that of  
 the Son; and the Son is visible, the Father invisible;  
 upon which *Dupin* observes, *mais cela n'empêche point qu'ils*  
*ne soient de meme Nature:*] (*Athanas. Orat. 4. con. Ar. Du-*  
*pin, p. 61, note r.*) but also from the common Meta-  
 phors, by which both the *Platonists* and *Orthodox* explained  
 their notions; *viz.* “ That the second *Hypostasis* was de-  
 “ rived from the Father, as Light from the Sun, or  
 “ Stream from the Fountain.” So *Lactantius* says  
 “ Both the Father and Son is God; but the one, as it  
 “ were, an *exuberant Fountain*; the other as a *Stream* de-  
 “ rived from it: the former, like the Sun; the latter,  
 “ like a Ray extended from the Sun. *Cud. 606, 609.*  
 “ *Lactant. Inst. lib. iv. c. xxix.*” And *Athanasius* him-  
 self declares, that the three Persons in the Trinity are not



to be looked upon as *three Principles*, nor to be resembled to *three Suns*; but to the *Sun* and its *Light*, and its *derivative Light*; “so, says he, we allow but one Principle(m).” For though he uses the same Word, *ὁμοούσιος* (*consubstantial*) to express that the Branches are *ὁμοούσιος* (*consubstantial*) with the Vine; and all men are *consubstantial* with one another; *Cud.* 606. yet he never supposes the three Persons in the Trinity to be *separate*, as three *Men* are; but to be inseparably conjoined, as the Sun and its Light; so that one cannot exist without the other. All which expressions allow the same kind of Subordination, which was maintained by the *Platonists*. And therefore Dr. *Cudworth* says; “In all this Doctrine of his (*Athanasius*), viz. that the three divine *Hypostases*, though not *monousious*, but *homoousious* only, are really but one God, or Divinity; there is nothing but what a true genuine *Platonist* would readily subscribe to. *Cud.* 620.” And again; *Plato* expressly agrees and symbolizes, not with the “Doctrine of *Arius*, but with that of the *Nicene Council*; nor did they differ much in language. *Cud.* 579, 623.” They both imagined the *Godhead* to consist in the *Essence* or *Substance*, which was supposed the same in them all; and, where there was the same *generic* Substance, the Substance must be *equal*. And therefore *Petavius*, expounding the *Athanasian Creed*, writeth in this manner—“The *Father* is in a right Catholic manner affirmed by most of the ancients, to be greater than the *Son*; and he is commonly said also, without reprehension, to be *before* him; in respect of *Origin*. *Petav. de Trin.* 863. *Cudw.* 599.” Whereupon He concludeth the true meaning of the Creed to be this: “That no Person in the Trinity is greater or less than another, in respect of the *Essence* of the Godhead common to them all; because the true Godhead can be

---

(m) *Cud.* 599. *Athan. con. Ar. orat.* 4. p. 467.



“no where greater or less; for in *Identity of Kind*, there  
 “can be no *Inequality*. *Petav. de Trin.* 863. *Cud.* 599.”

And Mr. *Herne*, the reputed author of the Remarks on Dr. *Waterland*'s second Defence of his Queries, under the name of *Philalethes Cantab.* says; No one Text of Scripture, or Testimony of any ancient writer, ever declares the Son to be equal in Power or Dominion to the Father; though the contrary doctrine is frequently taught, in express Terms. p. 61, 62. And to prove this, he quotes from *Tertullian*, *Novatian*, *Pierius*, *Basil*, *Hyppolytus*, *Eusebius*, &c.

*Origen* says; we affirm that the Son is not *more* powerful, but that he is *less* powerful than the Father: and this we affirm, out of a persuasion of the truth of his Words; who said, the Father that sent me is *greater* than I. *Con. Cels.* lib. viii. p. 288.

Again, we say; that our Saviour with the Holy Ghost, not only comparatively but super-eminently excels all things that were made [by him]; being yet himself excelled by the Father, as much, and even more, than he and the Holy Ghost excel the other, and these not ordinary [Creatures] neither; but notwithstanding he who excels such and so great Beings in *Essence* and *Dignity*, and *Power* and *Godhead*, (for he is the living Word and Wisdom); is nevertheless not in any thing compared to the Father. *Con. Cels.* lib. viii. p. 388. *Novatian* speaks to the same purpose, and says; “If the Son was *invisible*, if he was *incomprehensible*, if he was in any other respect what the Father is; then we allow it might justly be objected, that there are *two* Gods. ch. xxxi. And *Eusebius* says; We do not suppose the two to be *equal* in Honour, nor that they are both of them *unoriginate* and *unbegotten*—And Mr. *Jurieu* proves, that there was no such equality held by the *Antenicene* Fathers. *Emlyn*, vol. ii. p. 260, 278, 280, 284. And the author of the Reply to Dr. *Waterland*'s Defence says, (p. 351); “Nor have you produced any one pas-  
 “page



“ sage of any one writer, even for the first 400 Years;  
 “ that agreed or taught with you, that the Son and Holy  
 “ Spirit were *the one supreme God*; or *equally supreme* with  
 “ the Father in *Authority, Dominion, and Worship.*”

XVIII. p. 64, 106. *Of Apollinaris.*—Lord Chancellor King, the reputed author of the History of the Apostles Creed, with critical Remarks (p. 245) calls him the great *Apollinaris*, the ornament and splendor of the Church of that age, the most signalized champion for the Faith, and an illustrious example of Piety and Virtue—by all esteemed the greatest man of his age, both for Learning and Piety; a most accurate and nervous defender of the Faith against all its enemies, whether Heathens or Heretics. *Dupin* says; he was beloved and esteemed by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Basil*, St. *Epiphanius*, and all the great men of his age, for Learning and Knowledge. *Basil* says; he has such a respect for him, and is so much his Friend; that he would take *his* faults upon *himself*. *Epiphanius* calls him a venerable old man; and says he was cherished by *Athanasius*, and all the orthodox Bishops. *Serapion*, Bishop of *Antioch*, styles him *Claudius Apollinaris*, of blessed Memory. *Euseb.* Eccl. Hist. B. v. C. xix. &c. St. *Jerom* says, that he had often seen him at *Antioch*; that he honoured him, and learned many things of him. *Philostorgius*, the *Arian* Historiographer, says; that he, and *Basil*, and *Gregory Nazianzen*, defended the Divinity of Christ better than Any either before or after them; in comparison of whom the great *Athanasius* was esteemed to be but a Child; and the most considered and esteemed of these three was this *Apollinaris*: and that these three were wanting in nothing necessary to read and understand the Scriptures; and especially this *Apollinaris*, who understood the *Hebrew* language. He wrote against the *Arians* and other Heretics; and in many volumes overthrew Heresies, and confuted Errors opposite to the Faith; and in thirty large and noble books most convincingly



cingly baffled the calumnies of *Porphyry*: and his moral character was as conspicuous as either *Gregory's*, or *Basil's*. His writings surpassed in beauty and strength every thing that had been written by *Eusebius*, or any of the Ancients. He was excommunicated by *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, the tutelar Saint of the *English*; for taking the part of *Athanasius* against him—And *Epiphanius* says, He suffered banishment, because he would not assent to the *Arians*. Tom. ii. p. 1018. Hær. lxxvii. C. xxiv. But all his writings are now lost. The Catholics, says *Dupin*, had such a horror for the books of the Heretics, that they would not even preserve those, which did not regard their Heresy, and might be useful to the Church, (i. e. in plain words, they were more bigotted to Party, than studious to defend Christianity :) for which reason we have scarce one book of the ancient Heretics.

Is it possible to give a plainer proof of the blind Zele, with which the believers of those times were infatuated; or a more sufficient reason, why we ought not to have the worse opinion of any of the learned of those ages; merely because they were condemned as Heretics? Every age has opinions peculiar to itself; which rise with party zeal, and fall with it again. And in the heat of these disputes, the opinion of the great *Apollinaris*, founded upon a knowledge of the *Hebrew* Scriptures; when tried by a Majority of Votes in the Council of *Alexandria*, few of which, and perhaps none of them understood the *Hebrew* language; was condemned as heretical: because he did not believe that Christ had a *Soul* and a *Spirit* distinct and different from the divine *Word* that came down from Heaven.

This Heresy, says the Author of the Critical History of the Creed, the Fathers apprehended to be attended with most dreadful consequences: some of which he mentions, and their arguments against it; and it is amazing



to see how they trifle. I shall lay before you the chief of them, as briefly as I can. And

First, *Epiphanius* and *Athanasius* argue; that it is impious and blasphemous, to ascribe *Desire* and *Grief* to the divine Nature: and ridiculous, to ascribe them to insensible Matter: therefore they must be ascribed to a *human Soul*. I answer; These passions are ascribed in the Old Testament to *Jehovah*, who had no human Soul. *Jud. x. 16*, We are told of *Jehovah*, that his Soul was grieved; and *Deut. xxxii. 29*. *Jehovah* wishes, Oh that they were wise, &c. It is not therefore impious and blasphemous to ascribe *Desire* and *Grief* to the divine Nature, in the *Old Testament*; why then in the *New*?

Secondly, *Vincentius Lirin.* and *Epiphanius* tell us; that if Christ had been void of a reasonable Soul, i. e. besides the *Logos*; his *Humanity* would have been defective: or he would not have been a perfect *Man*. I answer; According to the Scripture language, both of the Old and New Testament, a spiritual Being in a human form is a *Man*: and therefore *Angels*, without any *human Souls*, when they appeared in a *human form*, were called *Men*. For when we speak of a Soul, or a human Soul, i. e. a *Man's Soul*; we have no other meaning to the Word, but of a *spiritual Being* inhabiting a *human Body*: and therefore every spiritual Being, while it inhabits a *human Body*, is the Soul of it; however perfect or imperfect: and no other Soul can be wanting, to make it a perfect *Man*: and it was in this sense the *Cabalists* believed the Angel *Metatron*, the instructor of *Moses*, to be the Soul of the *Messias*. See what *Vitalis* says, *Epiph. Vol. ii. Hær. lxxvii. c. 23*.

Thirdly, *Clemens Romanus* says; He (*Christ*) gave his *Flesh* for our *Flesh*, and his *Soul* for our *Soul*: But *Clemens Romanus* could not mean this, as an objection to the opinion of *Apollinaris*: for he lived long before him. And *Athanasius* says; that the *Body* is given for the *Body*; and the *Soul* for the *Soul*. And that one thing cannot



be redeemed by another, that is different therefrom. And *Theodoret* says, If God the Word did not assume the human Soul, he could neither relieve it nor honour it. But where do we find any of these pretty Fancies in the Scripture? They are nothing but mere Conjectures; and, if they were true, the consequence would be, that the Divinity of Christ had nothing at all to do in our Redemption; but the Body of Christ redeemed the Body of Man; and the Soul, the Soul. But if the Divinity be considered under the general notion of a Spirit; then, even according to these Doctrines, there could be no need of any other Spirit; the Divine Nature supplying the want of it. For *Vinc. Lirin.* tells us; that, according to the *Apollinarian* notion, ἀρκέσαι τὴν θεϊαν φύσιν εἰς τὸ πληρῶσαι τὴν νῦν τὴν χρεῖαν, the Divine Nature supplied the want of a Soul: and as to the Redemption of the Body; the text which speaks of it is interpreted by some in a very different manner, viz. from the Body. (See Dr. Sykes on Redemption.)

But, Fourthly, the chief Argument which they trusted to was this; that Christ descended into *Hell*. (*Psf.* xvi. 10. For thou wilt not leave my *Soul* in *Hell*; neither wilt thou suffer thine holy one to see Corruption: quoted *Acts* ii. 27. and xiii. 35.) and that could not be his *Deity*; because that is omnipresent, and was in *Hell* before, as well as elsewhere; and could not make a local transition thither.—'Tis manifest, this argument proves equally against the descent of the *Logos* from *Heaven*; as against his descent into *Hell*.

However, 'tis probable; that all these arguments were answered by the *Apollinarists*: for it was thought better afterwards to argue, “ That the Godhead did descend  
“ into *Hell*, accompanying his Soul thither; and from  
“ thence delivered the captive Souls, broke the sting of  
“ Death, rent in funder those bars and adamantine  
“ chains; and by his power loosened the bands of *Hell*,  
“ not



“not suffering his Flesh to see Corruption; (*Epiph. adv. Hær. lib. 3. Compend. Fid. Cath. p. 463, & 465.*)  
 “and at his sight the Porters of *Hell* trembled. (See the  
 “Confession of the *Arians* at *Ariminum*, *ap. Socr. Hist. lib.*  
 “*ii. ch. xxvii. p. 133.*)”

Upon this a very serious and orthodox writer says; When I read the place in *Job*, out of the LXX (*Job. xxxviii. 17*) Ἀνοίγονται δὲ σοι φόβῳ πυλαὶ θανάτου· πυλωροὶ δὲ ἄδρα ἰδόντες σε ἐπτήξαν· and these expressions in the old Symbols or Creeds; I hear methinks *Virgil* speaking of *Hercules*, and saying, *Te Stygii tremuere lacus, Te janitor Orci*—But, let the Original of that opinion be what it will; it is certain, that the New Testament has not a Word about it.

To this argument of the Fathers it may be answered; If the Divinity of Christ could accompany his Soul into *Hell*, it might certainly go thither by itself.—But in truth, the word *Hell*, which they build upon, in this text means only the Grave, and in general the place of departed Souls. Colomesius observes, that some Christians used it in the beginning of the Lord's prayer; πατερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν Ἀδῇ Keimel. Liter. and the word Soul respects particularly neither Soul nor Body; and ψυχή the Soul, means a person either dead or alive. See Note XXX. and *Pearson*, p. 232; and the sense of the words is only this, that Christ should not be left in the *Grave*; but rise again before the putrefaction of the Body.

You see by this, how little danger there was in the opinion of *Apollinarius*; and how little the Fathers had to say against it. And therefore it is no wonder; that a Doctrine, so agreeable to Scripture and Reason, continued among the Christians in after-times, and appeared in different shapes; and particularly among the *Monothelites*: whose Herefy, as it is called, in believing that Christ had but one *Will*, was a natural consequence of believing him to be one *Person*; in whom the *Logos* supplied the place of the human Soul: one *Spirit* being sufficient for one *Person*.



And though this opinion was also condemned in the sixth general Council of *Constantinople* (in 680); and they who held it were banished from that city, in consequence of this condemnation; yet it could not be much to their dishonour, if it be considered; that the *Roman* Bishops, who condemned them, were so shamefully ignorant; that the Pope himself wrote to the Emperor “to excuse their ignorance of the languages and of the holy Scriptures; and tells him, he was forced to send to *England* for a Divine: having no Person in *Italy* fit to appear in that Quality at the Council. And this is written not only in behalf of his own Legates; but of the Deputies of the Synod. If this ignorance prevailed to so high a degree among the Clergy at *Rome*; in what a darkness must the common people be involved! and yet such as these says the historian, have been chosen to decide the most important controversies relating to the Salvation of Mankind: who were implicitly obliged to submit to their decisions. *Echard's Roman History*, vol. iv. p. 333.”

XIX. p. 66. *Bernard Gilpin*, kinsman to Bishop *Tonstall*, says of him; *Memini Tonstallum episcopum sæpe narrasse, Innocentium tertium inconsulte fecisse; quod Transubstantiationis opinionem articulum fidei fecisset*, Vit. Bern. Gilp. p. 40. And again: *Illud etiam idem Tonstallus ex scriptis & sermonibus affirmare solebat; Innocentium tertium nescisse quid ageret. quando Transubstantiationem inter articulos fidei posuerit: dicebatque, Innocentium doctis hominibus circa se caruisse*, p. 46.

XX. p. 66, 67. This fourth *Lateran* Council, called by the *Romanists* the twelv'th general Council, was more truly general; than almost any of those that were so called. There were present 1200 Fathers; the Ambassadors of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, the King of the *Romans*,  
the



the Kings of France, Arragon, England, Hungary, Jerusalem, Cyprus, and diverse others; also the five Patriarchs, partly in person and partly by their legates; viz. of Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria.

See Note 94 on Joachim's doctrine in Mosheim's Cudworth, p. 717. [*Lateranensi.*] *Concilium sine dubio intelligit Lateranense 14 generale, quod auspiciis Innocentii III. A. MCCXV. coactum est. Acta exstant apud Jo. Harduinum Concilior. tom. iii. p. 1. Abbas Joachimus tunc temporis simile quid ejus decreverat, quod paulo ante Cudworthus nonnullos antiquorum Theologorum docuisse refert; unitatem nimirum Essentiæ trium personarum veram esse simplicem ac realem negaverat: contra, unitatem tantum concordie in Deo esse asseveraverat; sicut multi homines, unus populus et multi fideles, una Ecclesia dicuntur V, Natalis Alexander, Historiæ Eccles. sæc. xiii. cap. iii. art. iii. p. 77. et diss. II. ad sæc. xiii. p. 331. Hunc quo retunderet errorem Lateranense concilium primo decreto sic statim sanxit: Firmiter credimus, & simpliciter confitemur; quod unus solus est verus Deus,—Pater & Filius & Sp. S. tres quidem personæ sed una essentia, substantia, seu natura simplex omnino. Et lege secunda iidem antistites hoc modo decernunt. Nos autem, sacro et universali concilio approbante, credimus & confitemur; cum Petro; quod una quædam summa res est, incomprehensibilis quidem et ineffabilis, quæ veraciter est Pater, Filius & Sp. S. tres simul Personæ ac singularis quælibet earundem. Et ideo in Deo Trinitas est solummodo, non Quaternitas; quia quælibet trium Personarum est illa res, viz. Substantia, Essentia, sive Divina Natura, quæ sola est Universorum Principium: præter quod aliud inveniri non potest.*

XXI. p. 66, 84. The different Trinities mentioned by Bishop Stillingfleet, from the Unitarian Tracts, are these—

First, The Ciceronian Trinity; so called, because Cicero had used the word *Personæ* for different respects; *sustinet tres Personas*: and, according to this acceptation, three Persons



## 214 NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

Persons are no more than three Relations, Capacities, or Respects of God to his Creatures: which, the objectors say, is downright *Sabellianism*.

Second, The *Cartesian* Trinity; which maketh three divine Persons, or three infinite Minds, Spirits, or Beings, to be one God. This is objected to: as being either a God, compounded of three Persons; or else three Gods.

Third, The *Platonic* Trinity, of three divine cō-eter-nal Persons; whereof the second and third are subordinate and inferior to the first, in Dignity, Power, and all other Qualities, except only Duration. This is objected to, as being *Arianism*.

Fourth, The *Aristotelian* Trinity; which saith, the divine Persons are one God; because they have one and the same *numerical* Substance. This is objected to, as destroying the Personality of the Son and Holy Ghost; and as never held in the Church, till the year 1215.

Fifth, The Trinity of the *Mobile*; which is held by the common People, or by such lazy Divines, as only say in short, that it is an inconceivable Mystery; and that those are as much in fault, who go about to explain it; as those who oppose it. *Stillingfleet's Vind. of the Trin. Pref. p. 5. Bennet's Iren. p. 79.*

XXII. p. 71. *The Trinity of St. Au'stine, and the reformed Churches abroad.* From the Unitarian Tracts, vol. iv. Tract. 7. p. 24. and p. 4. *ibid.*—A divine Person is the divine Essence particularly considered with, and distinguished by, an essential Property. The Property, which according to the order of Nature obtains the first rank in the consideration of Deity, is *infinite and perfect Intelligence*. God then, considered as an eternal self-existing, self-living, and all perfect Intelligence, is the *Father*; or first *Person* of the Trinity.

Now it is the Nature of a perfect intelligent Understanding to reflect; and by this reflection of the Intellect



is produced a *Wisdom*, commensurate to the Understanding whence it is derived. And so this Wisdom manifestly is the offspring of the Mind. God [i. e. the same singular Essence] considered with this God-like Property, is called the *Son*; and second *Person*.

In fine, the two aforefaid divine Properties naturally produce the divine Will or Love, by which God loves his infinite Perfections. And the divine Essence considered with this Property, is the *Spirit*; and third *Person*.

This is St. *Au'stine's* explication; and thus the *Persons* are particularly explained by the reformed Churches abroad. See the Confession of Faith of the Protestant *Gallican Church*, Art. 6. and *Calvin's Catechism*, Sunday the third; and his *Institut.* l. i. c. xiii. § 18. where he says, *Mens uniuscujusque eò sponte inclinatur; ut primo Deum consideret, deinde emergentem ex eo Sapientiam, tum postremo Virtutem qua consilii sui decreta exequitur.* And according to this are the *modal* distinctions, by which Divines do usually explain the Trinity; viz. Life, Understanding, and Will; and St. *Au'stine's* Trinity, of Mind, Wisdom, and Love. *Unit. Tr.* vol. iv. Tr. 8. p. 6. Compare this with the Notions of the *Platonists*, Note xvi. p. 113.—Now, by this way of arguing, every Man is a *Trinity* of himself: for he has the immaterial *Essence*, with the Property of *Intelligence*; and he can reflect, and produce a *Wisdom*; commensurate to the Understanding, whence it is derived: and these two Properties may produce the human *Will*, or *Love*; by which Man loves his own finite Perfections.—But will a man pretend, that these are three real Persons? Will he imagine it possible, that the second of these Persons should suffer and die? Can Wisdom suffer? All this is nothing, at the bottom; but what Dr. *Cudworth* would call *Sabellian Jargonry*. It is μία ὑπόστασις τριπροσωπος, and ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ. In the same stile the *French Confession* says; the Father is the Cause of all, the Son is his Wisdom and Word, the Holy Spirit his Virtue and Power. So the *Belgic*. And the *Polish* says,



says, We call the Father God; who begat his only begotten Son, by whom from Eternity he foreknew all things. So the Son is represented as the Father's Intellect. *Emlyn.* vol. ii. p. 225. See *Unit. Tracts*, vol v. Tr. 5. p. 20.

XXIII. p. 73. The Bishops chiefly concerned in this wrangle, were *Eusebius Pamphili*, and *Eustathius* of *Antioch*; *dum ille Eustathio suisque ὁμοῶσιον asserentibus Montanismum & Sabellianismum exprobrarent; hi vero istis Ethnicorum πολυθεότητα objicerent.* *Bulli Op.* 31. falsely printed 28.

XXIV. p. 85. *From Chillingworth.*—I desire you to vindicate from Contradiction the following Assertions: that there should be length, and nothing long; breadth, and nothing broad; thickness, and nothing thick, &c. that is, that there should be a long, broad, thick, white, round, heavy, sweet, moist, flowing, active, passive *Nothing.* *Rel. of Prot.* ch. v. § 46.

XXV. p. 95. *Hilary de Trin. lib. 10.*—*Homo ille de Deo est, habens ad patiendum quidem Corpus; sed Naturam non habens ad dolendum—In quem quamvis ictus incideret, aut vulnus descenderet, &c. asserrent quidem hæc impetum passionis, sed non dolorem passionis inferrent.*

This Man is from God; having a Body capable of suffering, but not a *Nature* to *feel pain.*—On whom, though Blows might fall, &c. they brought the Violence of Passion, but not the Pain of it. As when a Sword is thrust through the Water, &c. He repeats the same, in several places; as in his Comment on *Pf. liii.* The Passion of Christ was undergone by Him voluntarily; to make an Acknowledgement, that Pain was due; not that He who suffered was at all touched by this; *non tamen pænæ sensu læsura patientem:* and on *Pf. cxxxviii.* Christ is thought to have felt Pain, because he suffered; but he  
was



was really free from all Pain, because he is God. Do but think now, says *Daillé*, whereunto all this tendeth: and what will become of our Salvation; if the *Passion* of our Saviour Christ, which is the only foundation whereon it is built, were but a mere *imaginary* Passion; without any sense of Pain at all? (*Use of the Fathers*, Part 2. p. 80.) The more modern System is, that *God* suffered; but not in his own Nature. But *Justin Martyr*, p. 15. who had not learned to deny the Suffering of that Son of God, who descended from Heaven; tells us the true Scripture Doctrine—That he sweat, as it were, great drops of Blood; praying that the Cup might pass from him, *cum videlicet trepidaret cor ejus & ossa similiter; &c. ut sciremus Patrem in tantis perpeffionibus filium suum vere nostra causa versari voluisse; & non diceremus, illum, quod Dei filius esset, non sensisse ea quæ illi allata sunt & acciderunt.* Lond. edit. p. 361, 362.

XXVI. p. 102. *Ignatius*, in his Epist. to the *Philadelphians*, says;—ἐάν τις ταῦτα μὲν ὁμολογῇ, καὶ ὅτι Θεὸς Λόγος ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ σώματι κατῴκει, ὡν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ Λόγος ὡς ψυχὴ ἐν σώματι, διὰ τὸ ἐνοικόν εἶναι Θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἀνθρωπείαν ψυχὴν.

The opinion of *Apollinaris*, according to *Au'stine*, was; that Christ assumed *Flesh*, without a *Soul*. *Hær.* 55. p. 182.—That he had not a human or rational Soul; as *Cassian* words it: that, instead of it, the Divinity supplied its place and room. He believed, that Christ had an *animal Spirit*; but not a *rational Soul*: and the *Arians* believed, he had *neither*. See *Facund.* 1. ix. c. 3. *Pearson* on the Creed, 238. *Crit. Hist. of the Apostles Creed*, 245. See *Epiph.* Vol. II. p. 1018.

*Theodoret* says, Ἀρεῖος καὶ Εὐνόμιος—ἔφασαν—τὴν Θεϊότητα τῆς ψυχῆς ἐνηργηκέναι τὴν χρείαν. *Divin. Dec. Epist.* c. 12. p. 124. and *Athanasius* says of *Arius*, ἀντὶ τῷ ἔσωθεν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀνθρώπῳ νῦν ἐπεγράμμιος ἐν Χριστῷ. *Tom. I. de Incar. Christi*, adv. Apol. p. 628. See *Dupin Nouv. Bibl.* Vol. ii. 125.



*Eunomius* says of Christ; ἀναλαβόντα τὸν ἐξ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἄνθρωπον. That he took on him Man, consisting of Soul and Body. *Fabrit. Bib. Græ. Vol. viii. p. 257.* But we are referred to a Note in p. 250, and told; that this must be understood, according to the Herefy of *Apollinaris*; that by ψυχὴ we are not to understand *Mens*; but the inferior *Anima*, consisting in the Senses; which learned Men may talk-of as they please, but know nothing of it; or whether there be any such thing.

XXVII. p. 105. *Quinam sunt enim illi, qui nobis Biblica volumina sarta tecta servavere; nisi Judæi? quot menda Scriptiōnis in sacrum codicem irrepfissent; si illius custodia solis Lactantiis, Augustinis, Gregoriis, Chrysostomis, viris sanctissimis, sed imperitis Hebraismi, mandata fuisset? inter Græcos omnes Latinosque qui veterem ecclesiam rexere, unus Origines cum Hieronymo Hebraice scivit; & ferme nimium dixi, ne elementa quidem didicerat. Cunæus de Rep. Hebr. p. 117.*

XXVIII. p. 105. *Hic Deus unus est, non duo aut plures duobus, sed unicus; cujus Unitas non est similis individuīs, quæ reperiuntur in mundo: nec unus est Specie, complectente plura individua: neque unus Corpore, quod est divisibile in partes atque extrema; sed ita unus est, ut nulla unitas similis isti in mundo reperiatur. Maimon. de Fundam. Leg. § 4.*

XXIX. p. 63. *Of the Athanasian Creed; which Dr. Whitby calls the Pseudo-athanasian Creed.—Dr. Cudworth says; “As to that Creed, which is commonly “called Athanasian; which was written a long time after “[Athanasius], by some other Hand; since at first it de- “rived all its Authority, either from the name of Atha- “nasia, from whom it is entitled; or else because it was “supposed to be an Epitome and Abridgement of his “Doctrine; this I conceive is therefore to be interpreted, “according to the Tenor of that Doctrine contained in “the*



“ the genuine writings of *Athanasius*. *Intel. Sys.* p. 620.” The Author of the Creed is unknown; and what Language it was written in. See *Cave's Hist. Lit.* 146; and the discourse of the *Benedictines* on it, in their Edition of the Works of *Athanasius*. Tom. II. p. 719. Archbishop *Tillotson* wishes the Church was well rid of it. It is written upon the principles of *Cyril*, and not on those of *Athanasius*; for it speaks of the three Persons existing *separately*, as *God* and *Lord*: whereas the Doctrine of *Athanasius* considered them as *inseparately* conjoined. And Dr. *Waterland*, who is looked upon to be orthodox by many, absolutely contradicts it. For the Creed says, “ We are compelled “ by the Christian Verity, to acknowledge every Person by “ himself to be God and Lord;” but Dr. *Waterland* says, “ No One Person is God; exclusively of the other Two.” *Defence* of his Quær. 349. *Reply* to his Defence, 438.

And it is drawn according to a Maxim of the *Platonists*; which, we are told by *Le Clerc*, the Fathers used to imitate; viz. that they used contrary and opposite Terms, when speaking of the same thing; asserting it in one sense, and denying it in another. *Bib. Univ. & Hist.* Vol. II. p. 214. Χρηται γὰρ ταῖς ἐναντίαις φωναῖς ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ· τὸ γὰρ εἶναι αἰσθητὸν καὶ ὃν καλεῖ καὶ μὴ ὄν, says *Diog. Laërt.* of *Plato*: ὃν μὲν, διὰ τὸ γένεσιν αὐτῷ εἶναι. μὴ ὄν δὲ, διὰ τὴν συνεχῇ μεταβολήν. The objects of Sense both are, and are not; they are, because they are made; they are not, because of their continual change. *Le Clerc* instances as follows; “ *c'est ainsi que nous disons, qu'il n'y a que Jesus Christ qui soit mediateur; sans en exclure neantmoins les ministres ordinaires qui le ont aussi.*” The Word being applied to them, in a less excellent and proper sense; which properly and in the strict sense could only be applied to Christ. There are many instances of this manner of writing, in Mr. *Ralph Venner's* *Orthodox Paradoxes*; published in 1650: *Ex. gr.* “ a Believer believes, that the Father is not the Son; and yet, that whatever the Father is, the Son is the same—He believes, that God hath no Form; and yet, that Christ ap-



...ed in the Form of God—He believes, th...  
 not acquit the wicked; and yet, that God judg...  
 ungodly.” And indeed, I think, no one scruples ...  
 speak in this manner: for it is nothing more than assert-  
 ing a thing in a lax Sense, and denying it in a stricter  
 one. Thus *Luke ix. 18.* And it came to pass, as he  
 was *alone* praying, that his Disciples were with him.  
 Here, in the lax sense of the Word *alone*, as it signifies  
 apart from the multitude, the Proposition is true; but in  
 the strict sense of it, as it signifies *by one's self*, it is a di-  
 rect contradiction. Now all such Propositions may be  
 either asserted or denied, according to the sense they are  
 taken in; or asserted in one sense, and denied in the  
 other. Thus we find it asserted, *Mark xii. 29, 32.* that  
 there is but one Lord; and in *Hosea, xii. 4.* There is  
 no God but me; and no Saviour besides Me: and yet in  
 the same chapter of *St. Mark*, the Apostle makes no scru-  
 ple of mentioning another Lord, verse 36; the Lord  
 said unto my Lord: and *St. Thomas* confesses another  
 Person to be his Lord and his God; and *St. Paul* tells us  
 of another who is the Saviour; *Tit. iii. 4, 6.* Now why  
 should not all these seeming contradictions be explained  
 in the same manner?

And thus, though there is but one God, in the sense of  
 the Word *Jehovah*, the self-existent God; yet the Father,  
 Son, and Holy Ghost may be all of them called so, in the  
 larger sense of the word *Elohim* or *Adonai*: and yet it may  
 be as improper to say, they are three Gods, or a Trinity  
 of Gods; as to say there are two Lords, or two Saviours.  
 In like manner, it is proper to say; that *Jehovah* is God,  
 and *Moses* was a God to *Pharaoh*: yet by no means pro-  
 per to say, that *Jehovah* and *Moses* were *two Gods*: be-  
 cause the Word *God*, in the two Propositions, is not to be  
 understood in the same sense. And it is upon this account  
 that *Tertullian* says; “ Though he might call the Son  
 “ God, speaking of him *alone*; yet speaking of him with  
 “ the



“ the Father, he would not name him so at the same time  
 “ with Him; but would call only the Father *God*, and  
 “ the Son *Lord*.” *Contr. Prax. c. 13. Bull, 252.* And  
 this is the Sense, in which *Philo* calls the *Logos* a second  
 God: in which he was followed by some of the Christian  
 Fathers. But they did not mean, that he was a second  
 self-existent Being; but used the word *God* of a Being,  
 whom they allowed to be originate and begotten. And  
 it does not appear, that Dr. *Cudworth* could have any  
 other reason than this for telling us; that “ though it be  
 allowable to speak of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,  
 each of them as *God*; yet is it not allowable to speak of  
 a Trinity of Gods: or what other reason St. *Au’stine*  
 could have, as the foundation of his remark; that *Philo-*  
*sophers* used free language, but *Christians* are tied-up to  
 phrases on this occasion; and ought to speak by a certain  
 Rule.” *Cud. 550.* ’Tis true, these things are so. but  
 what is this Rule? and how came it to pass, that one of  
 these ways of speaking is allowable; and the other not?  
 If the Words have the same Meaning, why should not the  
 Christians have the liberty of confessing their Belief in any  
 Words that will express their Thoughts? and if no rea-  
 son can be given, it looks as if the Christians allowed  
*three* Gods in *Fact*; but did not dare to say so. And there  
 is no wonder, that *Mahomet* and the *Moors* understood it  
 so. But this is not the Case: they believe but *one* God.  
 And therefore, though these learned men give no reason  
 for it, there must be a reason; and the different sense of  
 the Word *God*, as it is used in Scripture, supplies us with  
 a very plain one; and completely answers the Difficulty.  
 In any other sense, the Propositions of the Creed are a -  
 solute Contradictions; as will appear by what follows.  
 Mr. *Tho. Bennet*, in a Book called *a Confutation of Popery*,  
 has endeavoured to get clear of this Objection. He says;  
 “ If Revelation should say, that *Three are One*; in the  
 “ same respect that Reason says, that *Three are not One*;  
 “ then



“ then Reason and Revelation would certainly contradict each other. But this we do not find: for Revelation says, that *Three Persons* are One, in *Essence* ;” [not that Revelation ever does say so; but this Mr. Bennet assumes to be the case, in order to make good his argument:] and “ Reason says, that *Three Persons* are not One, in *Person* ; and therefore the several Dictates of Reason and Revelation are very consistent with each other—because it is no contradiction to say, that the same thing may be *Three*, in one respect; and *One*, in another.” p. 149.—This answer is very far from reaching the difficulty. It is allowed; that the same thing may be *Three* in one respect, and *One* in another. *e. g.* Three Men may be one Company; three Lines one Triangle; three Rooms one House; but this is only calling the Parts by one name, and the Whole by another: The difficulty of the *Pseudo-athanasian* Doctrine is very different; (for the Son and Holy Spirit are not parts of God:) *viz.* How three Persons, each of them *singly* supreme God, shall be *altogether* but one supreme God. This is not like saying, three Men are one Company, &c. but it is a direct assertion, that Three are One; in *the same*, and not in a *different* respect, as Mr. Bennet suggests; *viz.* That three Lines are one Line, three Men one Man, and three Gods one God: which is a contradiction in *Terms*, as well as in *Nature*; and in every Sense, except the Word *supreme* be omitted; and the Word *God* be understood, as it is used in Scripture, sometimes to signify *Jehovah*, and sometimes *Elohim*: and in this Sense, the Words of the *Athanasian* Creed are scriptural and consistent. But the *Pseudo-athanasian* Doctrine can be true in no sense at all.

XXX. p. 127. The *Hebrew* word *וְיָ*, as well as the *Greek* *ψυχὴ*, are still more indeterminate; as appears from *Numb.* vi. 6. He shall come at no dead *Body*; which literally translated by *Ainsworth*, is, “ He shall not come at

“ a



“ a dead *Soul*.”—So *Levit.* xix. 28. xxi. 11. xxii. 4. *Numb.* v. 2. what is translated the dead or the dead *Body*, is, in the original, *Soul*. So *Hag.* xi. 13. what the LXX. call ἀνάθρακας ἐπὶ ψυχῇ is rightly translated, one that is unclean by a dead *Body*. Though in other places ψυχή signify the *Soul*, yet in these it must be taken for *Body*. *Pearson*, p. 232. where this is more fully considered. In like manner though the word *Christ* should sometimes mean a compound Being, God and Man; yet when we speak of his *Suffering*, it must be considered in a more determinate manner; whether *both* God and Man suffered; or whether it was only *one* of them; and *which* of the two; the Being or Part which was capable of suffering, or the Being which was incapable.

XXXI. p. 137. *Of the Unity*.——The following, I think, are all the expressions in the New Testament; which seem to assert a Unity between God and Christ: and all of them agree in a *figurative* Unity, *i. e.* a Unity of *Will* and *Testimony*, &c. as explained by *Calvin* on *John* x. 30. and *Beza* on 1 *John* v. 7. *Unit. Tr.* vol. iv. *Emlyn's* Humble Enquiry, p. 47. &c. but cannot possibly all of them relate to *Person* or *Substance*. First, 1 *Jo.* v. 7, 8. It is said; these three, *viz.* Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, are *One* (ΕΝ, one *thing*.) Now, supposing this Text to be *genuine*, the Meaning is; that they are *One* in *Testimony*; for to this purpose they are spoken of; and not in regard of *Substance* or *Person*: not Unity of *Substance*; for then the Word Οὐσία, or *Hypostasis*, or some other word signifying *Substance*, would have been expressed: and not *Person*; for then it would not have been ΕΝ, but ΕΙΣ. But most probably the text is *spurious*. See *Sir Isaac Newton's* Letter to Mr. *Le Clerc*.

Second, *Jo.* xvii. 21. Christ prays, that the Disciples may be ΕΝ, one *Thing*: and this Unity is so explained in the context, as can only mean a *figurative* Unity; or a  
Unity



Unity of *Will, Consent, Glory, &c.* and not of *Substance or Person*. “Neither pray I for These alone; but for them also, which shall believe on Me through Their Word: that They all may be *one*, (*ἐν*, one *Thing*; not one *Substance*;) as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee: that They also may be *one* [*ἐν*] with Us; that the World may believe, that Thou hast sent Me. And the Glory, which Thou gavest Me, have I given Them; that They may be *one* [*ἐν*], even as We are *one* [*ἐν*.] I in them, and Thou in Me; that They may be made perfect in *one* (thing, *εἰς ἓν*) that the World may know, that Thou hast sent Me; and hast loved Them, as thou hast loved Me.

Third, *Jo. x. 30.* I and my Father are *one* [*ἐν*, one *thing*]. This means an Agreement in *Power, Will, and Consent*. So *Rom. xii. 5.* We are *one* Body in Christ; and *Rom. xvi. 6.* that ye may with *one* Mind and *one* Mouth glorify God; and *1 Cor. iii. 6. 8.* He that planteth and he that watereth are *one* (*ἐν*, one thing); i. e. in *Consent, Testimony, and Will*. So *ch. x. 17.* *One* Body; and *Eph. ii. 14.* He is our peace, who hath made both (i. e. Jews and Gentiles) *ἐν*, *one thing*. And *εἷς καὶ νῦν ἄνθρωπος* *one* new Man. Verse 15.

Now no thing can be more plain through the whole Gospel, than the perfect Unity between God and Christ in carrying-on the same design in the same manner; in order to unite all good Men in the same Unity of design: that they may be partakers of the divine Nature, *θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως*. *II Pet. i. 4.* So that God and Christ are *one*, *ἐν*, one Thing; in the very same sense in which Christ prays that his Disciples may be *ἐν*, one Thing: which is not capable of being understood either of Substance or Person, and must be understood of Will, or Design, or Glory.

And therefore *Justin Martyr*, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*, says; the Person who appeared to *Abraham* and *Jacob* and *Moses*, and is stiled *God*; is another Person distinct from



from the God who is the Maker of all things: distinct, I say, in *Number*; but not disagreeing in *Will*: for I affirm, that he never did any thing; but what it was the Will of the Maker of the Universe (above whom there is no other God) that he should do and say——And *Origen* says, the Father and Son are two in Substance; [τῇ ὑποστάσει] but in Concord, Agreement, and Sameness of Will, they are one. *Contr. Cels.* 386. And again; If any one, says he, should be afraid; least we should go over to the opinion of those, who deny the Father and the Son to be *two* distinct Substances; [for that was *Heterodoxy* in his Days, which is looked upon to be *Orthodoxy* now:] let him consider that text, “All that believed were of *one* “Heart and of *one* Soul:” and then he will perceive the meaning of this; “I and my Father are *one*.”

In short, the whole design and end of Christianity is to complete the *Unity* between God and Man, that is here spoken of: that all Christians may be *one* with Christ and God, even as *They* are *one*; that is, that they may learn to act upon the same Principles of Love, and Benevolence, and Equity; and pursue the Perfection and Happiness of the Universe, and of every Individual, by the practice of Righteousness: and so come to partake of the Divine Nature, and become Sons of God. For the Sum of all Perfection consists in *Unity of Will and Design with God*, who is infinitely wise and just, and good. How the Unity of God was explained by the Antients, see in Dr. *Whitby's* last Thoughts; p. 63 to 68.

End of the NOTES, &c. on the FIRST LETTER.



## NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS. 225



---

---

## LETTER THE SECOND.

---

Then went up *Moses* and *Aaron*, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and Seventy of the Elders of *Israel*: And they saw the God of ISRAEL. *Ex.* xxiv. 9, 10.

No Man hath seen God at any time—Ye have neither heard his Voice at any time; nor seen his Shape; *John* i. 18—v. 37. *I Tim.* vi. 16.

Behold, I send an *Angel* before thee;—beware of him, and obey his Voice; provoke him not: for he will not pardon your Transgressions; for MY NAME is in him. *Ex.* xxiii. 20, 21.

---

I PROPOSE, in this *second* Letter, to examine into the *Character* and *Person* of *Jesus Christ*; that I may shew, whether He answers to the description of the *Messiah* in *Our* Scriptures. And the first thing, that gives any light upon this Subject; is the frequent mention we find in the books of *Moses*, of the appearances of JEHOVAH; and the many conversations, which we are told-of, between God and Man: That



*Jehovah* walked in the garden of *Eden* in the cool of the day, and passed judgment on *Adam* and *Eve* (*a*); and came down to see the Tower, which the children of men builded in the days of *Peleg* (*b*); and appeared to *Abraham* as a Man accompanied with two *Angels* in the Plains of *Mamre* (*c*); and spake to *Moses* out of the Bush (*d*); and went before the *Israelites* in a pillar of a Cloud by Day, and in a pillar of a Fire by Night (*e*); and was afflicted in all their afflictions (*f*); and appeared to *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, and the seventy Elders of *Israel* (*g*); and descended on Mount *Sinai*, to give the Law (*h*); and was heard by the Children of *Israel* to speak with a great voice (*i*); and resided in the Tabernacle (*k*); and promised that he would return again and reside among Men in the latter day (*l*); and renewed that promise (*m*), in the days of *Darius Hystaspis*; about 500 years before the Christian Æra.

Many of these accounts are given in so plain and historical a manner, and with so many Circumstances attending them; (which cannot be explained and accounted-for either by Vision or figurative Expression :) that both the Jews and

- |                             |                           |                              |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| (a) <i>Gen.</i> iii. 8. &c. | (b) xi. 5.                | (c) xviii. 1, 2.             |
| (d) <i>Ex.</i> iii. 2, 4.   | (e) xiii. 21.             | (f) <i>Is.</i> lxiii. 9.     |
| (g) <i>Ex.</i> xxiv. 10.    | (h) xix.                  | (i) <i>Deut.</i> v. 22.      |
| <i>Ex.</i> xxv. 22.         | (l) <i>Jer.</i> xxxi. 31. | (k) <i>Zech.</i> ii. 10, 11. |
|                             |                           | (m)                          |

Chris-



Christians of former ages have looked upon them to be literal; and endeavoured to explain them accordingly<sup>(n)</sup>.

That there are several things spoken-of, in the Scripture, concerning Almighty God, in a *figurative* way; as the *Arm* of God, the right *Hand* of God, &c. and others spoken-of, in *Vision*; as where God is said to be seen *sitting* on his *Throne*, &c<sup>(o)</sup>. is certain: but some of the Appearances I am speaking-of are of a very different Nature from both these.

When *Jehovah* appeared to *Abraham* in the Plains of *Mamre*, with two *Angels*; they all appeared as *Men*, and it could not be in *Vision*; because *Sarah* also saw Him, and conversed with Him: and when God (or, as *Onkelos* reads it, the *Shechinah* of God <sup>(p)</sup>;) appeared to *Moses*, *Nadab*, *Aaron*, and *Abihu*; there is not the least intimation of any *Vision*; or room for any *Figure*: and the same is evident, in many other parts of the *Mosaic* History.

These Actions therefore, which *Moses* related as Historical Facts, must certainly be so; or else there is no dependence upon the literal sense of any one action recorded in Scripture: and it becomes both Jews and Christians to consider,

(n) See the Quotation from *Theophilus*, Letter III.

(o) *Is. iv. 1.* *Tenison*, on *Idol*. p. 337. (p) Non enim invenies Deum ullum opus fecisse; nisi per manus alicujus Angeli. *More Nevoc.* p. 2. c. 6.



how such actions can possibly be performed by *Jehovah*. For they are both agreed, that the History is true ; and yet that the Supreme Self-existent God of the Universe hath never been *seen* or *heard* at any time.

“ No man, says *Justin Martyr*, who has the  
 “ least sense, will dare to say ; that the Maker  
 “ and Father of the Universe left the superce-  
 “ lestial Mansions, and appeared here in a little  
 “ part of the Earth.” And *Maimonides* observes ;  
 that “ it does no where appear, through the  
 “ whole of the Old Testament ; that the Su-  
 “ preme God of the Universe hath performed any  
 “ work, but by the means of some *Angels* (q) :”  
 and *Vorstius* says the same thing.

Dr. *Tenison*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, says  
 (r) ; that “ as to the divine Substance of God,  
 “ who hath neither limits nor parts, nor physi-  
 “ cal motion, (which is division of parts ;) nor  
 “ figure, (which is inconsistent with immensity ;)  
 “ nor colour, (which is an effect of figure and  
 “ motion upon the brain :) it is certain, that in  
 “ *this* Body we cannot see it : and there is great  
 “ reason to doubt, whether we can do so in any  
 “ other ; which, though it be celestial, yet is

(q) Sed nec liquido constat Deum hoc pacto (scil. im-  
 mediato sermone) ad ullum Mortalium, vel etiam *Mosem*,  
 verba habuisse : imo non contemnendæ rationes contrariæ  
 favent suspitioni ; viz. Deum cuncta potius Angeli famu-  
 litio sub lege veteri administrasse. *Maimon. de fund. Leg.*  
 ch. ix. note 9. Edit. *Vorstii*. (r) On Idol. p. 312.

“ but



“but Body:” and the Scripture account agrees with this Notion.

Accordingly, we find in *Deuteronomy*, that the argument against graven Images is founded upon this Observation; that our Fathers saw no manner of Similitude, in the day that the Lord spake in *Horeb* out of the Fire(s): so that God did not appear either by Person, or Symbol. And therefore Bp. *Bull*’s remark is true in fact, as well as in the opinion of the ancient learned Doctors among the Christians; “that God the Father hath *never been seen*, not even by assumed appearance, or shape, or symbol; nor *can be seen(t)*:” and the Christian Scriptures go still farther; and declare, that no man hath *seen* God at any time; nor *can see* him: nor ever *heard his Voice(u)*.

And

(s) Deut. iv. 12. (t) Ex primævorum Doctorum Sententia, Deus Pater a nemine unquam, ne per assumptionem quidem species visus est; aut videri potest. *Bulli defens. sect. iv. c. 3, 4.* (u) Jo. i. 18—v. 37—1 Tim. i. 17. *Justin Martyr* says, a nemine visus est, neque cum quopiam per seipsum collocutus est, quem Fabricatorum rerum cunctarum novimus. p. 248.

*Limborch* in his Resp. ad 3 Script. Judæi, explains what is mean’d by *Moses*’ speaking to God Face to Face—and after his proofs from Scripture he says; ex quibus liquet, totam Revelationem *Mosi* factam ministerio Angeli qui personam Dei repræsentavit; ac proinde, perinde ac si Deus ipse locutus est. p. 255. Edit. *Basil.* See also *Orobio*’s quotation from *Tertullian*, p. 188. of which I shall quote a part.



And if this be the Case; as it is agreed by all men of Learning and Understanding, whether Jews or Christians; that *Jehovah* so often appeared to our forefathers, and conversed with them; and yet that the Supreme God and Father of the Universe was *never seen* by any one, nor his *Voice heard*; there must be without doubt, some other person, besides the *Supreme God* and Father of the Universe; *who is called by that Name*. And when we compare the several Texts of Scripture, wherein the *Jehovah* who appeared and conversed with Men, is called the *Angel of Jehovah*, as well as *Jehovah*; we can no longer doubt of it. For the *Angel* [or Messenger] of *Jehovah*, who is sent; must be a different Being from the *Jehovah*, who sent him. And the Reason he is called by the *same Name*, is thus well explained by R. *Josue F. Sehib*, according to the common maxim not only in use among the Hebrews, but allowed-of by the general custom of the World; *Loquitur Legatus sermone mittentis eum*(x).

And a part. Ecce autem *Moses* alio loco refert, quod *Abrabæ* visus sit Deus: at idem *Moses* dicit, quod nemo hominum vidit Deum & vivit. Si videri non potest Deus, quomodo visus est Deus? aut si visus est, quomodo videri non potest? ut *Joannes & Paulus*, quem nemo vidit. Ex quo intelligi potest, quod Pater visus sit qui nunquam visus est; sed Filius qui descendere solitus est & videri, quia descendit; est imago enim visibilis Dei. *Lib. de Trin. fol. 623.*

(x) Uti bene observat R. *Jos. F. Sehib* fol. 58. 4. ex *Deut. xi. Col. 14. & Gen. xxxi. 13.* ubi Angelus se vocat Deum



And God himself hath given us the same solution of this difficulty ; *Behold, I send an Angel, —to keep Thee in the way ; and to bring Thee into the place which I have prepared. Beware of him, and obey his voice ; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions ; for MY NAME is in him (y) :* which not only means, that he speaks in the Authority and Person of God ; but that he is also called by the same *Name* : as will appear more plainly from the following Observations.

1. When *Hagar* fled from her Mistress, an *Angel of God* found her : And *Moses* mentions this Person soon after by the Name “ *Jehovah*, that spake to her(z).”

2. The *Angel of Jehovah* appeared to *Moses*, in a flame of fire in the Bush (a) ; and *Moses* said, I will now turn aside and see this great Sight ; why the Bush is not burned. And when *Jehovah* saw, that he turned aside to see ; Elohim called unto him out of the midst of the Bush ;—moreover he said I am the God of thy Father ;—and—*Jehovah* God of your Fathers ;—and the Christians call him the Angel of the Lord(b). Here then the Angel of *Jehovah* is again called by the name *Jehovah*. The Angel in whom God put his name *Jehovah*, is fre-

Deum Bethelis Maimon. de Fund. Legis Leg. p. 101. Edit. Vorstii. (y) Ex. xxiii. 20. (z) Gen. xvi. 7—13.

(a) Ex. iii. 3, 4, 6, 15.

(b) Acts vii. 30, 32, 35.

quently



quently called *Jehovah*; but the Supreme *Jehovah*, is never called the *Angel* of *Jehovah*, and therefore, where the same Person is called by both the Titles, it cannot mean any other than the Angel in whom God put his name.

3. It is said; that *Jehovah* appeared to *Abraham*, in the Plains of *Mamre*(c); and He sat in the Tent-door, in the heat of the day; and behold, three Men stood by him. Through this whole chapter *One* of these Men is called *Jehovah*. *Jehovah* said, Wherefore did *Sarah* laugh? And *Jehovah* said, shall I hide from *Abraham*, that thing which I do? And *Abraham* stood yet before *Jehovah*: And *Jehovah* went his way, as soon as he had left communing with *Abraham*. Whence it is plain, that *One* of those who appeared as a Man, and is called *Jehovah*, and made the promise to *Sarah*, was not the invisible God; but some other Being, called by his Name.

4. It is said by *Jacob*(d), The Angel of God spake to me in a Dream; saying, *Jacob*; and I said, Here am I: and he said—I am the God of *Bethel*; where thou anointedst the Pillar, and vowedst a Vow unto Me(e).

Now the vow that *Jacob* made at *Bethel* was this—Then shall *Jehovah* be my God(f).

(c) *Gen.* xvii. 1, 2, 13, 17, 22, 23. (d) *Gen.* xxxi. 11, 13. (e) *Gen.* xxx. 13. (f) xxviii. 20, 21.



Whence it appears; that an *Angel* of God calls himself *Jehovah*, the God of *Bethel*.

5. It is said; The *Angel* of God, which went before the Camp of *Israel*, removed and went behind them; and the Pillar of the Cloud went from before their Face, and stood behind them (g): and yet it is said, in the chapter before; *Jehovah* went before them in a pillar of a Cloud to lead them the way, and by night in a pillar of Fire to give them Light. And it appears also that this Person is called *Jehovah* (h); and that he was worshipped (i), and that he was the *Angel* of *Jehovah*, is confirmed from Ex. xxii, 34. where it is said; “Behold, mine *Angel* shall go “before thee;” and by *Numb.* xx. 16. where it is said; that *Jehovah* sent an *Angel*, and hath brought us forth out of *Egypt*.

6. *Jehovah*, who gave the Law, said unto *Moses*; Come up Thou and *Aaron*, *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, and seventy of the Elders of *Israel*—and they went up, and saw the *God* of *Israel* (k), Now it is plain, this could not be the Invisible *Jehovah*; because he was seen by all these people. And his appearances in *Shechinah*, and in a Cloud (l) confirm, that he was the Same *Angel* who is called *Jehovah* (m), and the *Angel* of *God* (n); who went before the Camp of *Israel* in a

(g) *Ex.* xiv. 19—xiii. 21. (h) *Ex.* xiv. 24. *Numb.* xii. 5. (i) *Ex.* xxxiii. 10. (k) *Ex.* xxiv. 1, 9, 10. (l) ver. 16, 17. (m) *Ex.* xiii. 21. (n) *Ex.* xvi. 29.



pillar of Fire and a Cloud. For *this* is the Glory by which this *Angel* used to be known and distinguished; and in which he appeared in the Sanctuary, and in the Vision to *Isaiah* in the Temple(*o*). And in this interpretation the Christian Scriptures intirely agree with Ours. For though it is said, *Jehovah* descended upon the Mount; and said, I am *Jehovah*; and spake all the words of the Law: yet the Christians tell us; that it was “an *Angel*, that spake to *Moses* in the Mount *Sinai*, and with our Fathers who received the lively Oracles to give unto Us:” and that the Law was given by the disposition of *Angels*; and that it was ordained by *Angels*, in the hands of a Mediator: and they call the Law, the Word spoken by *Angels*(*p*). And though it be said, *Jehovah* called unto *Moses* out of the Mountain, *Ex.* xix. 3. yet the Christians interpret this by telling us(*q*), that God sent him by the hands of the *Angel* which appeared to him in the Bush.

7. The same who contended with *Jacob*(*r*), and is called *God* by Him, is declared by *Hosea* to be an *Angel*, xii. 4. and in the next verse he is called the *Jehovah* of Hosts; and his name or memorial is *Jehovah*, as was the name or memo-

(*o*) Deut. v. 24. Ex. xvi. 7, 10. xxiv. 16. Lev. ix. 6, 23. Numb. xiv. 10. xvi. 19, 42. xx. 6. 1<sup>st</sup>. vi. 1, 2.  
 (*p*) Acts vii. 38, 53. Gal. iii. 9. Heb. iii. 2. (*q*) Acts vii. 35.  
 (*r*) Gen. xxxii. 24.



rial of the *Angel* that appeared in the flaming Bush(s).

8. But this will appear more remarkably evident, from *Ex. xxxiii.* where the name of *Jehovah* is in the most solemn manner conferred upon the Angel, who led the *Israelites* through the Wilderness.

The History is as follows(t). God, in his anger against the people of *Israel* for making the golden Calf; threatens, by the *Angel* who led them as a pillar of Fire, that he would deliver them into the hands of some other *Angel*: and this Threat was known to all the people. “But  
“ this second Angel was not the *Angel of the Co-*  
“ *venant*; [as R. *Menahem* observes;] of whom  
“ he spake, in times of favourable acceptance,  
“ *My Presence* shall go; but an other Person.”  
—*Moses* therefore complains; that *Jehovah* had said unto him, Bring up my people; but had not let him know, *Whom* he would send before them: and he prays, that (as he had found favor in his sight) he would lead them *Himself(u)*. *Jehovah* complies with his request; and declares, that his *Presence(x)*; that is, the *Angel* so called, should

(s) *Ex. iii. 4, 6, 7.*

(t) *Ex. xxxiii. 1—19.*

(u) *Himself*] It is in the *Hebrew*, shew me thy Way. See the Bishop of *Clogher* on Spirit, p 68. But the *Lxx* read, manifest thyself: ἐμφάνισον σεαυτὸν, shew thyself to be our Conductor. See *Pf. lxxvii. 2. lxxvii. 13.*

(x) *Presence*]. The *Lxx* read myself, αὐτός, will go before Thee; and so the Phrase is used, *II Sam. xvii. 14.*



should go before them. *Moses* then prays, that *Jehovah* would assure him, that it was *He* who would go before them; [and not any inferior Angel, as he had threaten'd;] by shewing him his *Glory*(y). This also *Jehovah* complies with; declaring, I will make ALL my Goodness(z) or *Glory* to pass before Thee: and I will proclaim the name of *Jehovah* before thee: But as to the sight of his *Face*, i. e. the full Sight of him in all his *Glory*; as he was about to appear, in order to give the fullest Satisfaction that it was no *Inferior Angel*(a); *Moses* was not capable to support

That thy Face or Presence go to the battle: i. e. Thou, in thy own person. And the *Hebrews* expound it to mean the Angel, the Redeemer, mentioned, *Is.* lxviii. 9. and the Angel of the Covenant, *Mal.* iii. 1. R. *Menahem* ad loc. *Ainsworth*.

(y) *Glory*] i. e. the *Shechinah*; or, as the LXX translate it,  $\delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha\ \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$  the visible sign of God's presence, when he went before them as a Pillar of Fire; in which manner he afterwards appeared in the Sanctuary, and in the Temple. See the Texts quoted in p. 5. And in this sense the *Chaldee* understanding it adds; verse 16. if the *Shechinah* go not with us, that miraculous works may be done for us.

(z) *Goodness*, i. e. *Glory*, which he desired to see, ver. 18. and which did pass before him; ver. 22. The *Chaldee* calls it my *Glory*, and the LXX  $\tau\eta\ \delta\omicron\varsigma\alpha$ .

(a) *Angel*] Abp. *Tenison* says; whilst *Moses* is not content with the promise of an assistant Angel, but expressly petitioneth for the continuance of God's presence; (compare *Ex.* xxxiii. 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. with xxiii. 21, 22, 23.) he leaveth us not in want of a Commentator to



port it(*b*): and therefore he should only have an imperfect view and glimpse of him; as when we see a person who has just passed and turned his back upon us; or as his Glory was seen in the Cloud: and least the sight should have too fatal an effect upon him, he should be placed in the Cleft of a Rock; as *Elijah* stood in the Entrance of a Cave(*c*), in a dark and confined place; where the full Refulgence of the *Shechinah* [the proper Glory of the only begotten of the Father] (*d*), should not hurt him. But at the same time, he would assure him; that it was the *Angel of the Face or Presence* of God, who used to appear under the Name and Person of *Jehovah* by proclaiming his Name before him, as he passed by: “I will proclaim the Name of *Jehovah* before Thee.” And this was to be the proof to *Moses* and to all the people, which he had desired; that the *Angel*, who used to go before them in the *Shechinah*, had not left them; and an Encouragement to them to march forward. Accordingly the Lord *Jehovah* descend-

to tell us what kind of Angel was present with him. That Angel no doubt it was, who is called by that name in the *Hebrew* of *Eccles.* vi. 5. but by the *LXX* Interpreters the Face of God. On *Idol.* 331. See Letter III. note I.

(*b*) Abp. *Tenison* observes; neither *Moses* nor any man living being able to behold the face or full lustre of it (the *Shechinah*); if it had been granted, he must have paid down his Life for the price of his Curiosity. On *Idol.* 336.

(*c*) I Kings, xix. 11, 13.

(*d*) Jo. i. 14.

ed



ed in the Cloud, and stood with *Moses*, and proclaimed the Name of *Jehovah*, and passed before him and proclaimed *Jehovah*; *Jehovah*, merciful and gracious, long suffering and abounding in Goodness and Truth, keeping Mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, that will by no means clear the guilty; [This is the same character which was given of the *Jehovah* Angel(*e*),] visiting the iniquity of the Fathers upon the Children, and upon the Children's Children, unto the third and fourth generation(*f*). Here we find, that the name of *Jehovah* is in the most solemn manner conferred on the *Angel*, who led the Israelites in the Wilderness; and he is described personally, as their Lord and Governor.

I have not scrupled here to understand the Text, "Thou canst not see my *Face*; for there shall no man see Me and live:" to relate merely to the *Angel* of God's Face or Presence appearing in ALL his Goodness or Glory; for the following Reasons. 1st. It was not *God* himself, but an *Angel*: and the seeing God, is not here spoken of as a thing *impossible*, upon account of his Invisibility; but only as a thing of *fatal Consequence*; for the Impossibility is not once hinted, but the Sight of him actually supposed; or else the effect of it could not have been mentioned.

(*e*) Ex. xxiii. 21.

(*f*) Ex. xxxiv. 5, 6, 7.

And



And it was the general Opinion among our Fathers; that Death was the Consequence of seeing the Face of an *Angel*: such was the apprehension of *Jacob*, when he saw the Face of God (g), who is declared to be an *Angel* by *Hosea*; I have seen *God*, Face to Face; says he, and my Life is preserved. And so again, when *Moses*, *Nadab*, *Aaron*, and *Abihu*, and the seventy Elders saw the same person; called there *Jehovah* the God of *Israel*; it is said, they saw God; and did eat and drink(b); i. e. they continued *alive*; and so also *Gideon* and *Manoah* were both afraid of *Death*; because they had seen the Face of *God*; or, of an *Angel*(i). And upon occasion of this fear it was, that the people said unto *Moses*: speak Thou with us, and we will hear; but let not *God* speak with us, lest we die(k). And though they saw, that *God* did talk with Man; and He *lived*; yet they still feared, and said unto *Moses*; Now therefore why should we *die*? for this great fire will consume us; if we hear the Voice of *Jehovah* our God any more, then shall we *die*. For who is there of all *Flesh*; that hath heard the Voice of the Living God, speaking out of the midst of the Fire as we have; and *lived*(l)? Here we find; that, wherever they met

(g) *Hosea* xii. 4. *Gen.* xxxii. 30. (b) *Ex.* xxiv. 10, 11. (i) *Jud.* vi. 22. 23. *Jud.* xiii. 22. *Is.* vi. 5. (k) *Ex.* xx. 19. (l) *Deut.* v. 24, 25, 26.



with this notion, they were as much afraid of *hearing* the *Voice* of an *Angel*; as of *seeing* him: for his great Voice was heard out of the midst of it, [the Mount] with thunderings and lightnings, and the voice of the Trumpet exceeding loud; so that all the Camp trembled. Now the Person, who appeared and spake to them with all this Terror, was the *Jehovah Angel*(*m*), and therefore the Expression, No man shall see my Face, and *live*; seems properly to relate to the appearance of this *Angel*, accompanied with the Symbols of Terror and destructive Power: for, as to the *Supreme God* himself, *He* was never *Seen*: nor *His Voice heard*(*n*).

2. A second Reason why I so understand it, is; because *Death* was *not* the consequence of seeing *this Angel*, when he appeared like a *Man*; as he did to *Abraham*, at the destruction of *Sodom* (*o*); and to *Jacob*, when he gave him the name of *Israel*(*p*); nor even when he appeared in the *Shechinah*, while this appearance was at a distance as devouring Fire upon the top of the Mount(*q*); or was tempered with Clouds and thick Darknes. And therefore the only sense, in which it appears capable of being mean'd, *that no man can see the Face of God and live*; seems to be in the particular Circumstances of the present Case, or

(*m*) Acts vii. 30.    (*n*) Jo. i. 18. v. 37.    I Tim. vii.  
16.    (*o*) Gen. xviii.    (*p*) Gen. xxxii.    (*q*) Ex. xxiv.  
17.    Deut. iv. 11.



a similar one ; when this Angel was to appear in ALL his Glory or Goodness(*r*). For this Reason *Moses* was not able to enter into the Tent of the Congregation ; because the Cloud abode thereon, and the Glory of the Lord filled the Tabernacle(*s*). Nor could the Priests stand to minister ; nor enter into the house of the Lord(*t*) : and for the same Reason it seems that *Jehovah* said unto *Moses* ; “ Speak unto *Aaron* thy brother, that he come not at all times into the holy place within the Veil, before the Mercy-seat that is upon the Ark ; that he die *not* : for I will appear in the Cloud upon the Mercy-seat(*u*). Whereas, when he did not appear in the Cloud and thick Darkness, the Glory was too powerful for mortal Sight. And, if we look into the Christian Scriptures, this Reason will be confirmed ; for the Divine Light or Glory, in which it is said that Christ will appear hereafter in flaming fire taking Vengeance(*x*), [and in reference to which he is called ἀπαύλασμα τῆς δόξης, the Effulgence of God’s Glory(*y*)], is said to be the Destruction of wicked Men, whom he will destroy with the brightness [ἐπιφάνεια] of his coming ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of God, and from the Glory of his Power. The words are very

(*r*) *Ex.* xxxiii. 19.      (*s*) *Ex.* xl. 25.      (*t*) *I Kings*  
viii. 10, 11.    *II Chron.* vii. 2, 3.—1, 14.      (*u*) *Lev.* xvi.  
2.      (*x*) *II Theff.* i. 8, 9—ii. 8.      (*y*) *Heb.* i. 3.



remarkable; the Presence of God being the name of the Angel called, *πρόσωπος τῷ Θεῷ* and the Glory of his Power may mean, by a *ἐν δυνάμει*, his powerful glory, in which he appeared as *devouring Fire*.

Before I go any farther, it may be proper to consider the meaning of this *Angel's Title*; The *Face* or *Presence* of *God*. The expression is a *Hebraism*, and signifies God himself; as it is frequently understood(z), and so, the *Face* of thy Brother signifies thy Brother himself; and the *face* of the Country, the *face* of the Deep, the *face* of the Earth, of the Field, of the Gate, of the Waters, of the Wilderness, of the World, signify in the Old Testament the things themselves: and so the *Face* of *Jehovah* signifies *Jehovah* himself; and for the same Reason the Angel of *Jehovah* being called by the name *Jehovah*, is sometimes called the Angel of his *Face* or *Presence*; and sometimes the *Face* or *Presence* of *Jehovah*: because, as I observed, he supported the Person, Character and Authority of the *invisible Jehovah*; and was called by his Name. *Ex. xxxiv. 6(a)*.

We

(z) *Gen. xix. 13. I Sam. xxvi. 20. I Kings xiii 6. Ps. xxxiv. 16, &c.*

(a) The Christians have given us a very good account and Explanation, in what manner the Supreme *Jehovah* is represented by the Angel of his Presence; in what they have said of Christ: See *Poole's Synopsis* on *Jo. i. 18. ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο* which they explain *enarravit exposuit*;



We see then, according to the Old Testament, that the sacred Writers attribute to the *Angel*, who acts in the name and authority and moral Character of God, the name *Jehovah*: and there could be no mistake in this particular among our forefathers, as if this *Angel* was the *supreme* God, because we find by the History, that he never acted in his own Name; or by his own Authority: but merely as the *Angel* of God. And as *Moses* knew the person, who spake in the name of God and called himself *I am(b)*, to be an *Angel*; and declares him to be so, when he speaks of his appearance to the Patriarchs; it is certain the Patriarchs themselves, to whom the Revelations were made, and from whom as 'tis probable *Moses* received those Accounts by Tradition, or *Cabbala*; could not be ignorant of it. And we see that they *were not*, by the Prayer of *Jacob*; in which he considers the person, who had so often appeared to him; the *Elohim*, before whom his Fathers, *Abraham* and *Isaac* did walk; the *Elohim*, which fed him all his Life to that day; to be the *Angel* that redeemed him from all Evil(c): and consequently

*exposuit; non tum sermone et prædicatione, quam expressione et repræsentatione; quippe Patris Character; as says De Dieu from Heinsius: and again; ἐξηγήσατο idem Hellenistis quod ἐφάνεωσεν, representavit, manifestum generi humano fecit.*

(b) *Ex.* iii. 2, 14. *Acts* vii. 38, 53. *Gal.* iii. 19. *Heb.* ii. 3. *Ex.* xix. 3. interpreted *Acts* vii. 35. (c) *Gen.* xlviii. 15, 16.



not the Supreme *Jehovah*, but the *Redeeming Angel*.

And accordingly we find; that this Angel, speaking in the *name* of God, that sent him, uses the *First* person: (as an Ambassador does, in the name of his King; or the *Roman Fecialis* did, in the name of the Roman People)(*d*): and *that*, even when he speaks concerning himself, whom He then mentions in the *third* person; “Behold, says he, I send an Angel before Thee;—beware of *him*, and obey *his* voice.” These are the words of the *Jehovah Angel*, speaking in the *first* Person in the name of God, and speaking of himself in the *third* Person: and so he speaks of himself to *Nicodemus*. *Jo.* iii.—“And no man hath ascended up to Heaven; but he that came down from Heaven, even the son of Man that is in Heaven—And as *Moses* lifted up the serpent in the Wilderness, even so shall the son of Man be lifted up—That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life”—And so the Speech goes-on to the end of the 18th verse. “For God so loved the World,

(*d*) When the *Roman Fecialis* declared war in the name of the Senate, he spake in the first person; *Rosin. Rom. Antiq.* Lib. x. ch. 1. and in making leagues spake in the same Stile: If I keep my Faith, &c. but if I violate it, then may I perish; meaning the senate and people of Rome. See *Kennet’s Antiq.* part 2, ch. 17—Even an *inferior Angel* is introduced thus speaking in the first person; *Rev.* xi. 1. ---3. And I will give power to my two witnesses, &c. and thus the Angel *Jehovah* speaks, *Judg.* ii. 1.

that



that he gave his only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth on him, should not perish; but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the World, to condemn the World; but that the World through him might be saved. He that believeth on him, is not condemned; but he that believeth not, is condemned already; because he hath not believed in the Name of the only begotten Son of God." *Jo. iii. 14. to 19.* And thus he speaks of himself, *Luke xviii. 8.* "Nevertheless, when the Son of Man cometh, shall he find Faith on the Earth?" And so God speaks of himself in the third Person, *Pf. l. 22, 23.* and elsewhere: "Now consider this, ye that forget God; least I tear you in pieces, and there be none to deliver. Whoso offereth praise, glorifieth me; and to him that ordereth his Conversation aright will I shew the Salvation of God."

Again; whatever is performed by this *Angel*, is said to be performed by *God himself*. Thus *Ex. iii. 14.* "*Jehovah* said unto *Moses*, I am that I am; Thus shalt thou say unto the Children of *Israel*, *I am* hath sent me unto you:" and yet the Christians agree with Us, that this Person was not the Supreme Invisible *Jehovah*; but his *Angel*. *Acts vii. 35.*

These two ways of speaking are agreeable to the common received Customs continually in use among Mankind; and well understood. As I have



have expressed the first in the Words of R. *Jos. F. Sehib*, *Loquitur legatus sermone mittentis eum*; So the latter may be expressed as concisely, by this common Maxim; *Qui facit per alium, facit per se*. And this manner of speaking is no less frequent in the New Testament than in the Old. The Salvation vouchsafed to Mankind is there called the *Salvation* both of *God* and *Christ*. It is *Christ* who raiseth us from the dead; and *God* who giveth us the Victory over Death through him. *God* is called our Crëator, though he crëated all things by *Christ*(e); and the *Kingdom* of Heaven is called the *Kingdom* both of *God* and of *Christ*. *Christ* is said in one place to forgive us; and in another place, *God* is said to forgive us for *Christ's* sake; or, by *Christ*; [*ἐν Χριστῷ*.] So that the two Revelations speak the same language; and consider *God* and his Minister as one and the same [*ἐν*,] in *Design*, and *Will*, and *Execution*.

Having now proved, that the *Angel* of *God* is in many places of Scripture called by the name *Jehovah*; and that we are expressly told, that *God* put his name in him; we need be in no doubt, that it was this visible *Jehovah*, and not the invisible one; that appeared and spake to the Patriarchs. But because some eminent Christian Writers, who allow the Truth of this, have yet

(e) Col. i. 16.



involved their Readers in thick darkness; by asserting, that the Angel of *Jehovah*, who appeared to the *Patriarchs*, was *God himself*; or *Jehovah himself*: it will be necessary here to take notice of this Expression; and shew the impropriety of it. Dr. *Allix* says; it was the same Son, who appeared often under the Character of the Angel of the Lord; though he was not a created Angel, but *Jehovah himself*(*f*); and that the old Synagogue expected, that he should be *Jehovah indeed*(*g*); and that *God himself* appeared(*h*); and this Angel was *God himself*(*i*). And Bp. *Pearson* says of the Chaldee Paraphrasts; that they often use the *Word* of God, for *God himself*: and that especially, with relation to the Creation of the World(*k*); p. 118. and quotes several Texts to that purpose: but they may all be answered by this one argument; that God created the World by the *Logos*. And Bp. *Bull* calls him *Ipse Deus*. Other Writers speak in the same manner; as if they thought it necessary to confound the *Persons*, in order to preserve the *Unity*. For who can imagine the Words *God himself*, *Jehovah himself*, to mean any thing else than one and the same *essential* and *numerical Person*?

(*f*) *Allix* on the Jewish Ch. 141.      (*g*) *Ib.* 7, 286,  
&c.      (*h*) *Ib.* 2, 10.      (*i*) 208.      (*k*) *Pearson*, *ibid.*  
p. 70. note (*a*).



Let us consider it in this sense; and, if it be the true one, then, wherever *Christ* is spoken of, we may substitute the words *God himself*; for so it must be understood: and *vice versâ*; and see what Confusion this will make.—When *Christ* says, I have told you the truth which I have heard from *God*(*l*); it must mean, I have told you the truth which I have heard from *Myself*. When he says, I am one that bear witness of myself; and the Father that sent me beareth witness of me (*m*); how can this be the Testimony of *Two*, if *Christ* be *God himself*? Besides this he must send *himself*. He must go away to him that sent him; i. e. to *himself*(*n*). He must give a Revelation to *himself*, intercede with *himself*, and pray to *himself* not to forsake *himself*, and, what is absolutely inconsistent with the Mediatorial Scheme and a contradiction in Terms, he must be the Mediator between *himself* and Man(*o*).

But though these learned men, by talking in this unguarded manner, must unavoidably bring the greatest confusion into the minds of the Vulgar; it must be confessed, they do not appear at other times to have any such meaning; as their words above quoted do naturally imply:

(*l*) *John* viii. 26.

(*m*) *Ib.* 17, 18.

(*n*) *Ib.* 5.

(*o*) See *Whitby's* last Thoughts, p. 54. and *Unit. Tracts*, vol. 4. Tr. 7th. A Humble Inquiry, pa. 7.

but



but on the contrary agree, that the Father and Son are *different and distinct Beings*.

Dr. *Allix*, in quoting *Zeck. ii. 11. And thou shalt know that the Lord of Hosts hath sent me unto Thee*, observes; that here are two *Jehovahs*; one who sends, and another who is sent(*p*): and that the *Word* is clearly distinguished from *God* who sends him(*q*).—And speaking of *Jehovah* raining fire from *Jehovah* out of Heaven, he says; there is *Jehovah* and *Jehovah*: and, if these do not make *two*, I know not what will express a Plurality(*r*). And Bishop *Bull*, though he calls Christ *God himself*, in the ninth page of his book; yet he lets us know, in the tenth; that he does *not* mean, that Christ is *God himself*; but the *Son* of God: for in a Note on *Exod. xxiii. 20.* he says; “*God*, that is, the *Son of God*, as all primitive Antiquity understood it; speaking to *Moses*, promised to send an Angel before his people(*s*).” And he proves this to be the sense of the Chaldee Paraphrases, from their interpretation of *Gen. xx. 3.* And the *Word* of God came from the face of God to *Abimelech*(*t*): which certainly, he says, could not be understood, and *God himself* came from the face of

(*p*) P. 250.      (*q*) 263.      (*r*) P. 120.      (*s*) Deus, hoc est, Filius Dei, ut sensit omnis Antiquitas primæva; Mosi locutus promittit se Angelum præmissurum populo suo.      (*t*) Et venit Verbum Dei a facie Dei ad *Abimelech*: quod certe non potest intelligi, et venit Ipse Deus a facie Dei. *Bulli Op. p. 14.*



God. And on *Pf.* cx. i. Sit thou on my right hand, he says; this can by no means be understood, the Lord said to *himself*; Sit thou on my right hand(*u*). Thus we see these great men have a *secret* meaning to their Words, different from what appears to the Eyes of a common Reader; who can understand them in no other sense than what will render his Faith a System of Confusion.

'Tis true, we may say; that One of these *Jehovaks* is the *Jehovah himself* who sent, and the other the *Jehovah himself* who was sent by him. But we must not say in an absolute manner, without such distinction: that each of these is *Jehovah himself*: for then what becomes of the Plurality of *Persons*?

The only apparent Reason for this confused way of speaking is this; that though they suppose the *Persons* of the Father and Son to be different, yet they believe their *Essence* to be the same: and from thence they draw this Conclusion, that the *Word* of God is God *himself*. But the Consequence does by no means follow; not even from the *Identity of Essence*: for the Expression *Himself* is always understood to include *Personal*, as well as *Essential* Identity: and consequently, if the *Son* of God be God *himself*, he

(*u*) Sede a Dextris meis: nullo modo potest id intelligi dixit Dominus *sibimet ipsi*, Sede, &c.



must not only be the same *Essence*, but the same *Person*.—And this must also be the Consequence; if it is asserted that *Christ* is God *himself*, as to his *Essence*; for how can this be true; if *Christ* be *sent* from the Father, and actually *descended* from Heaven? Did the Father send his own Substance? that is impossible. Or did the Son descend without his Substance? that is in like manner impossible; an unsubstantial Being could not be capable of a Mission; and to suppose but one identical Substance to the Father and Son, is the very Doctrine that was condemned by *Athanasius* as *Sabellian*(x). It is to suppose them to be μονοῦσιοι & ταυλόεσιοι, ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ, & ὑπόστασις τριπρόσωπος\* by all which the Heresy of *Sabellius* is described(y).

But, what is much more to the purpose; this Language is directly contrary to the Scripture; where we find, that *Christ* is not God *himself*: for *Jesus Christ* expressly speaks of God, as a *distinct* Being; and says, “He shall know my  
“ Doctrine; whether I speak of *God*, or whether  
“ I speak of *myself*(z).” Now if *Christ* be God *himself*, then his words must be thus interpreted; He shall know, whether I speak of *God himself*;

(x) See Letter I. Note viii. Dr. Waterland’s opinion confirms this, p. 32. (y) They do ἀναρῶν καὶ ἀθετεῖν τὴν ὑπαρξίν τῷ υἱῷ\* take away and destroy the Existence of the Son.

(z) *Jo.* xii. 17.



or whether I speak of *God himself*: which it is absurd to suppose. And here it is observable; that he does not distinguish himself from God, as being *God the Father*; but as being *God*(a).

Dr. *Allix* seems sensible of this: and after concluding one while that the *Logos* is *God himself*, and at another time that he is the *Angel* of God; and nevertheless *God*, because an *un-created* Angel: and that it was not the *Father* who appeared to the Patriarchs, but *Christ*; He concludes thus: “It remains therefore certain; “that the *Word*, mentioned by *Philo* and the “paraphrases, is not an *Angel*; but a *divine Person*, Θεός, as *Philo* calls him many times; and, “if the expression be allowed of, δεύτερος Θεός, as “he speaks; whose proper name is *Elohim*(b):” and he says, the Jews looked upon the *Logos* as a *divine Person*(c). And again, I speak of the appearance of an Angel; who is called *God*, and worshiped as *God*, under the Old Testament. And Bishop *Bull* speaks in the same way; and says, “Those who would explain *Mimara* (the Word,) in the *Chaldee* Paraphrases to mean αὐτός, *God himself*; are mistaken. For that the ancient *Hebrews* believed the Word of God to be a distinct Substance from God the Father, [λόγον quendam Dei Patris, revera distinctam ab ipso patre Hypostasin] who used to descend and con-

(a) *Emlyn's* Trac. (b) *Allix* on the Jew. Ch. 199, 438, 439. (c) *Ibid.* 200.



verse with men. So that at last we are let into their meaning; and find, when they choose to be understood, they speak the same language with the ancient Fathers; (before the change of the Faith which was made at the Council of *Nice*) who believed that Christ was *God*, or a *divine* Person; yet not the *Supreme* God, or God *himself*; but his *Son*; to whom the Divinity was communicated by the Father (τῇ μετοχῇ τῆς Θεότητος, by Communication of Divinity or Godhead, as *Origen* expresses it(*d*), and upon this account, Some of the Fathers ventured to call him δεύτερον Θεόν· a second God, and *Justin Martyr* says, he is ἕτερος τῷ πατρὶ ἀριθμῷ, ἔ γνῶμῃ(*e*): different from the Father in Number, not in Will and Design. And they worshiped him, not because they believed him to be God *himself*; but because God had commanded it.—And they did not deny him to be an *Angel*, because he is so called both in the Old and New Testament(*f*); whereas God *himself* is never called so.

It may be proper here to take notice of an argument which is used by Mr. *Lowman* against the Existence of the visible *Jehovah*: viz. that the imaginary appearance of a second *Jehovah* is nothing more than the appearance of the invisible *Jehovah* himself by *Symbol*: and that in the same sense plagues and earthquakes and other

(*d*) *Origen*. Com. on Jo. p. 46—8.      (*e*) *Tryph.* 276.

(*f*) *Deut.* v. 24. *Acts* vii. 35.



visitations of God are called the Angels of God.—Now I am not able to conceive how an Angel called *Jehovah* who actually appears and converses, can be considered merely as a Symbol; as when *Jehovah* appeared in the Plains of *Mamre* and at other times. A Plague or an Earthquake may be called an Angel of *Jehovah*, *i. e.* a Messenger of *Jehovah*, though it be no *Person*: but it is never called *Jehovah*. And when a real *Person* appears and speaks and is called *Jehovah*; it is a very different thing from calling a Plague or an Earthquake *the Messenger of Jehovah*.—I took no particular notice of this Objection upon publishing this letter, because I thought I had said enough to obviate it. But as it has been repeated by a very learned and respectable writer, I shall confirm what I have said upon the subject, by observing that it must appear even from the contexts prefixed to this letter; that a Person called *Jehovah* appeared to the Patriarchs, and was therefore visible—that he appeared to several Persons at the same time, and therefore his appearance was not in vision—and that he conversed with them Personally; and therefore was not a Symbol, but a real Person.

I shall now go on to shew; that both the *Jewish* and *Christian* Revelations, and all the affairs of Mankind relative to their Salvation, are carried-on by one and the same Person; who appeared



peared to our forefathers, and conversed with them; to wit, the *Logos*, or *Word* of God; as he is called by *Philo*, and the Apostles of *Christ*; to whom *Clem. Alex.* ascribeth the Mysteries of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, as to the great Teacher of them before his Incarnation. So that he, as a divine Substitute of the Father, gave the Law of Reason to *Adam*; the *Jewish* Law to *that people*; and to *all the World* the *Christian* Law or Will of God(g).

And this Question I shall consider and examine;

I. By the reason and consistency of the Thing.

II. By the words of Scripture.

III. By the interpretation of Scripture given us by the Jews and Christians; which last head I shall leave to the next Letter.

I. I shall consider the reason and consistency of the Thing.

Dr. *Whichcote* has observed, in one of his Aphorisms; what appears agreeable to the general opinion both of the Ancients and Moderns, and no less so to the divine Wisdom and Goodness; viz. That “as there are no effects in the  
“ Course of *Nature*, but what God hath secured  
“ by vigorous and effectual Causes; so he hath  
“ not taken less Care to secure the *intellectual*  
“ World. When God made a Spirit *finite* and  
“ fallible, he did intend to direct and govern it

(g) Strom. 7. p. 702. See *Tenison* 372.



“ by a Spirit *infinite* and *infallible*.” So far the Ancients and Moderns seem to agree; and to differ in this only, *who* the Spirit was; by whom this Direction and Government was carried-on.

The Opinion of the modern Christians is this: that God did in the beginning create the World by *Jesus Christ*; and afterwards make all his Revelations to our Fathers by *another Person*, who speaks in the name of God, and is called in the most solemn manner by his Name, *Jehovah*, the Lord God merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in Goodness and Truth, &c(*b*).

This is the Character of the Angel, who lead our Fathers into *Canaan*, and was for many ages their Protector and Redeemer; whose Portion they are declared to be, and the lot of his inheritance; who found them in a desert land and in the waste howling Wilderness, and lead them about and instructed them, and kept them as the apple of his Eye(*i*); and declared to *Abraham*, that he would not leave him, till he had done all that he had spoken to him of (*k*); viz. That in his Seed should all the Families of the Earth be blessed: and by the Prophet *Jeremiah*, that he would make a new Covenant with the House of *Judah*(*l*). Notwithstanding which, according to the opinion of some Christians, This

(*b*) *Ex.* xxiv. 6. ——— xxiii. 21.

(*i*) *Deut.* xxxii.

(*k*) *Gen.* xxviii. 14, 15.

(*l*) *Jer.* xxxi.



*Jehovah* on a sudden *disappears*, and is *no more heard-of*; he is neither rewarded for the Afflictions he has undergone, nor concerned in the completion of his Promises. But *Jesus Christ*, who is supposed to be a *different Person*, is introduced in his stead; and sent into the World to consummate the Scheme of Revelation and Salvation, which the Angel *Jehovah*, the Angel of the Covenant, had so carefully carried-on for many Ages: and this *Jesus* in the New Testament is called the King of *Israel*. *Jo. i. 49.* though our Fathers knew no other Person by that Title, except the *Jehovah* who led them out of *Egypt*: and at length this same *Jesus* dies, and is rewarded and *exalted* above all Principalities and Powers. And thus the *Angel of the Covenant* is superseded by *another person*; who succeeds to all his Titles, and accomplishes all the Revelations which should have been fulfilled, according to the Prophecies, by himself.

But the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers and Rabbins is much more *probable, consistent, uniform and complete*. It supposes; that the whole scheme and design of God; in making, governing, and saving Mankind, or bringing them to Eternal Life; was begun, hath been all-along carried-on, and will be compleated, by one and *the same Jehovah*, the Messenger, Minister, or Angel of God; who is called by different Names, according to the different Offices he undertook;



(as the different Circumstances of Mankind required) to procure the End for which he was sent. That the God of the Universe, the God and Father of *Jesus Christ*, created all things by the *Visible Jehovah*, afterwards called the *Son of God*; and governed the World many Ages by him, as his *Minister*; giving him a peculiar power over the *Jewish Nation*, by whom he had lead them into the promised Land; and He was called their *God and King*: and during his government of them he was “afflicted in all  
 “their afflictions, and his Soul was grieved for  
 “their misery, and he led them about and instructed them, and kept them as the apple of  
 “his Eye; and of his Love and his Pity he re-  
 “deemed them, and carried them all the days  
 “of Old: and yet such was his Righteousness,  
 “and hatred of Iniquity; that, when they were  
 “disobedient, he turned to be their Enemy;  
 “and fought against them:” but he never received any reward, in the Character of the *Jehovah Angel*, for all that he had done and suffered for the sakes of them, and of the Rest of Mankind in his government over them: the Reward of his Love to Man and Obedience to God being deferred, till he should be made perfect or consummated by much greater acts of benevolence and greater sufferings than he had before gone through(m).—But afterwards, when it



pleased God to compleat the Scheme which he had predestinated and foretold by the Prophets; He sent him into the World, in the Character of the *Messiah*, the *Son of Man*; to gather under one Lord and King both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who had been long separated; and to preach peace and forgiveness to all such, as would become his Subjects, and live in Obedience to his Laws; in which Character he suffered great Affliction and Distress; and at last a shameful and cruel Death. And now, in reward of his meritorious Obedience, the power which he had in a peculiar manner over the *Jews*, as their *God* and *King*, was extended over the *Gentiles* also (n); and he was constituted the *Heir* of *all things*(o), and *Judge of all*: and the Salvation of Mankind, which he had from the beginning been solicitous to procure, was given into his own hands; and he received powers from God, which enabled him to compleat it; and was made a Prince and Saviour of the whole World he had made: and that Kingdom, which was prophecied of by *Daniel*, was given to him; which is to last for-ever; that is, to the End of the *αἰών & μισθοδοσία* in which his Subjects shall be rewarded by him with Eternal Life, and reign together with him: and he himself is exalted above all Principalities and Powers; and there-

(n) *Iſ.* xlix. 6.(o) *Heb.* i. 2.



by farther enabled to advance the Virtue and Happiness of God's Creatures in the most wise and proper manner through the whole Crëation. — There is nothing in all this, contrary to the nature of Things, the reason of Mankind, or the Revelation given to *Moses* and the Prophets; nor any thing at all improbable: but the whole Scheme is uniform and consistent. And we cannot conceive a more noble Catastrophe to the History of this World, and to the troubles and afflictions of various kinds, which the *Jehovah Angel* underwent in obedience to God in order to bring Men to Happiness, while he strove so many years with their obstinacy and perverseness, than the high State to which he is exalted, and thereby enabled to succeed in his Labours to the utmost of his Wishes; by giving eternal Life to every individual of the human race whom he will: *i. e.* to every one who shall live in the practice of Righteousness and Truth.

Another Consideration, which renders it more reasonable and consistent to suppose, *that the several Dispensations are carried on by the Same Being*, is this; That, if Christ be the Angel of the Covenant, all those difficulties are avoided, which I have shewn to be insuperable in the several heretical opinions mentioned in my First Letter: as he is capable of answering every particular in the Prophecies relating to the Visible *Jehovah*, and the *Angel* of the Covenant, and the *Messiah*



*Messiah* promised to our Nation; and to every particular in the New Testament, relating to his person and office, his dignity and abasement, his sufferings and exaltation. As he could receive a Body, and thereby become a *Man*; so he could again put off that Body and die. R. *Solomon* on *Gen.* xix. 18. acknowledges; that the human Nature can be, and has been, assumed for a time; to which the *Talmud* agrees, under the Title, *Shebaitb* or *Sabbobh*(*p*). But though he was the Angel of the Covenant, he was not an Angel in that low sense in which it is objected to the *Arians*, as if they believed him but little superior to Mankind; but in that sense in which he is called so by *Paul* and *Stephen* and *Moses*; i. e. a person sent by God, superior to the Angels (*q*); who are under his command(*r*), and pay worship to him (*s*); who is declared by *Moses* to be the *Glory* of God, and the *Similitude* of God (*t*); and by the Christians to be the brightness or *ray of his Glory*, and the express image of his Person (*u*); and the whole of his character, (as it is described *Exod.* xxxiv. 5, 6.) is particular and personal, and designed to distinguish him from all other Angels and as superior to them: for it is the *Glory of one particular person*, that was discovered; and the moral At-

(*p*) *Grot.* de Verit. Lib. v. Not. 18. 6.      (*q*) *Heb.* i. 9.  
 (*r*) *Mat.* xiii. 41.      (*s*) *Heb.* i. 6.      (*t*) *Numb.* xii. 8.  
 (*u*) *Heb.* i. 3.



tributes of *one particular person*, which are there specified; and not the moral Attributes of any particular *Speices* of Beings. Nor was He a *Man*, in the sense, in which the *Socinians* use the word; when they confine it to mean a Being, who had no *Existence*, before his *Birth* in this World; nor in that sense, in which *Cicero* says, *Mens cujusque is est Quisque*; (for in that sense he is of a Nature greatly superior:) but he was a *Man*, in the common sense of the word; i. e. a *Spiritual Being animating a Human Body*; in which sense the word may include the highest Spiritual Being in Heaven, capable of Incarnation; as well as the lowest upon Earth: according as we read that the Angel, with whom *Jacob* contended so long in prayer, is called by both names; *Aish*, or a *Man* (x): and *El*, *God* (y).

II. If we examine this Question, [*whether the several Dispensations have not been carried-on by the Ministration of the same Angel*,] by the words of *Scripture*, we shall find; that the *Angel of the Covenant* is scarce ever, if at all, spoken of, under any of the Names and Characters above-mentioned; as the Angel of the *Presence* or *Face* of God, the *God of Bethel*, the *Redeeming Angel*, &c. without some remarkable Circumstance in the Context, directing us to some other part of the History; where we find the *same Person* is

(x) *Gen.* xxxii. 24.(y) *ibid.* 30. *Hos.* xii. 3.

repre-



represented as acting under some *other* Name and Character: and by pursuing the Inquiry through the several references to which the Contexts direct us, we shall see Reason to conclude; that these *different* Names and Characters all centre at last in *one* and the *same* Person; as the Names adjoin'd to the word *Jehovah*, direct us to the *same Jehovah*; though the *appellatives* be different, according to the different *places* he appeared in; and the *actions* he performed; by which short memorials the history of what had been transacted was conveyed down to Posterity.

Thus, if we consider the history of *Jacob* contending with the Angel in *Peniel* who chang'd his name to *Israel*; we find him called both a *Man*(*x*), and *God*(*y*): and *Jacob* called the name of the place *Peniel*, [the face of God] for I have seen God, *Face to Face*—And yet the Prophet *Hosea*, speaking of the same appearance to *Jacob*, says: he had power with *God*, yea, he had power over the *Angel* and prevailed; he wept and made Supplication unto him, he found him in *Bethel*, and there he spake with us: even *Jehovah*, *God of Hosts*; *Jehovah* is his memorial(*z*).

Here the *same* Person, who is called a *Man*, is called the *Face of God*, and *God*, and an *Angel*,

(*x*) *Gen.* xxxii. 24.

(*y*) *ibid.* 30. *Hos.* xii. 3.

(*z*) *Hos.* xii. 4, 5.

and



and *Jehovah* God of Hosts, and the Person to whom he made Supplication in *Bethel*. Let us turn to that Part of the History(*a*).

It was at *Bethel*, that *Jehovah* appeared to *Jacob* in a dream; and *Jacob* awaked and said, surely *Jehovah* is in this place; and he called it *Bethel*, [*the house of God*,] and set-up a Pillar and anointed it(*b*); and declared that *Jehovah* should be his God(*c*); and God calls himself *Jehovah* God of *Abraham*, and promises *Jacob* that in his seed shall all the families of the Earth be blessed(*d*); and yet we find(*e*), that it was the *Angel of God* who is here spoken of, who appeared to *Jacob* in a dream, and said, I am the God of *Bethel*, where thou anointedst the Pillar(*f*); and this same Person is called [*El Shaddai*] God Almighty(*g*), that appeared to him at *Luz* or *Bethel*(*h*). And *El Shaddai* was the same *Jehovah* who made the Covenant with *Abraham*, and after talking with him went up(*i*); and afterwards renew'd the promise to *Jacob*, by the name of *El Shaddai*; and went up in the place where he talked with him(*k*).

Again; the *Jehovah*, who appeared to *Moses* in the Bush(*l*), is called *Jehovah* and *Elohim*(*m*),

(*a*) Gen. xxviii.      (*b*) v. 18.      (*c*) v. 21.      (*d*) v. 13, 14.      (*e*) Gen. xxi. 11.      (*f*) v. 13.      (*g*) xlviii.  
 (*h*) xxxv. 6.      (*i*) xvii. 1, 22.      (*k*) xxv. 13.  
 (*l*) Ex. iii.      (*m*) v. 4.

and



and *I am*(*n*), and the *Jehovah* and *Elohim*, or Lord God of your Fathers and God of *Abraham*, &c. and this, says he, is my *memorial* unto all generations: and so in *Hosea*, *Jehovah* is my *memorial*.—And yet this was not the *supreme God*, but his *Angel*; and so he is called in other places(*o*).

Moreover we read, that *Jehovah* talked with *Moses*; and promised, that *his Face* or *himself* would go before the *Israelites* (*p*): and would proclaim the name of *Jehovah* before him, to shew that it was the same *Angel* who led them before in a Cloud and Flame of Fire; and *Jehovah* descended in a Cloud, and stood with *Moses*, and proclaimed the name of *Jehovah*. From all which it appears; that this was the *visible Jehovah*, or the *Angel of Jehovah*; agreeable to what God declared(*q*), that an *Angel* should go before them; and that *His Name* was in him.

Now the *Angel*, who led them in the Wilderness, is called by *Isaiab*, *Peniel*, or the *Angel of the Face* or *Presence* of *God*; and the *Redeeming Angel*; [as he is called by *Jacob*(*r*),] and their *Saviour*(*s*). In all their affliction he was afflicted, and the *Angel of his Presence* saved them, in his love and in his pity he *redeemed* them, and

(*n*) *Ex.* iii. 14.      (*o*) *Ex.* iii. 2.    *Hof.* xii. 4.    *Acts* vii. 30.  
 (*p*) *Ex.* xxxiii. 9.    (*q*) *Ex.* xxiii. 20.    (*r*) *Gen.* xlviii. 16.  
 (*s*) *Is.* lxiii.



he bare them and carried them, all the days of old : But they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit, &c. All this is plainly *personal*; and cannot be supposed to relate indiscriminately to any Angel, whom God might send to reveal his Will; but to *one* Angel in *particular*: and directs to a more full account of the *same* Angel, in *Deut.* xxxii. 8. where we read, that we are *his People* and the *lot of his Inheritance*. For, when the Most High separated the Sons of *Adam*, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the Children of *Israel*: or, as we read it in the *Lxx*, according to the number of *the Angels of God*(*t*). And this accounts-for his being called so particularly *the God of Israel*; under which name he appeared to *Aaron*, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, and the seventy Elders of *Israel*(*u*); and at the same time proves, that it could not be the *supreme God*, who is spoken-of in either of these Places; but One *particular Person*, who is called the *Elohim of Israel*, and is visible. And it is very remarkable to the same purpose; that, when the three Angels appeared to *Abra-*

(*t*) *Eusebius* informs us frequently, that all the Nations of the Earth were formerly by Lot divided to many Angels; and this was the Doctrine of *Justin Martyr*, *Athenæus*, *Athenagoras*, and the two *Clements*: and *R. Menahem* says, God placed seventy Angels over the seventy Nations; and the Son of *Sirach* says, he set a Ruler over every People. *Eccles.* xvii. 17.

(*u*) *Ex.* xxiv.



*ham* in *Mamre*, One of them only is called *Jehovah*; both by *Abraham*, and by the two other Angels; and the other two are only called *Adonai*. See the Postscript.

And we are assured by *Jeremiah*; that *Jehovah* who made the *old* Covenant, is the same that should make the *new* One; chap. xxxi. though not according to the Covenant which he made with their Fathers, when he took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of *Egypt*. And *Zechariah* says, “Sing, O Daughter of *Zion*; for lo, I come and I will dwell in the midst of thee, saith *Jehovah*; and many People shall be joined to *Jehovah* in that day, and shall be my People; and I will dwell in the midst of Thee, and thou shalt know that the *Jehovah* of Hosts hath sent me unto Thee(x).” Here are manifestly *two Jehovahs*, the *Sender* and the *Sent*; of the latter of which it is said, he shall inherit *Judah*, his Portion in the Holy Land; and can therefore mean no other person, than the very same Angel that is spoken-of *Deut.* xxxii. where we find that our Nation *was made the lot of his inheritance*; and the same whom *David* celebrates by the name *Jah*; *Pf.* lxxviii. 4. and describes by *his going before his People and marching through the Wilderness*, ver. 7. and by *his goings in the Sanctuary*, and calls him his *God* and *King*,

(x) *Zech.* ii. 10, 11.



ver. 24. And when the Temple was built afterwards by *Solomon*, where the *Shechinah* appeared, and the Glory of God filled the House(*y*), *Solomon* declares, that it was built for the *Name* of *Jehovah*, *God of Israel*(*z*); and prays that God would hear him in Heaven his dwelling place(*a*), when he prayed towards the House which he built to his *Name*(*b*). For he said, his *Name* should be there(*c*). For all the People should know his *Name*. And through the whole chapter *Solomon* preserves a plain distinction between the *Name* of God, or the *Jehovah Angel*, who dwelt between the *Cherubim* and appeared in Glory on the Mercy-seat; and the *God of the Universe*, whom he declares the Heaven and the Heaven of Heavens cannot contain(*d*). And this distinction is preserved in the *Jerusalem Targum*(*e*), which runs thus; “ You have made the  
 “ *Word of the Lord* King over you this day,  
 “ that He may be your Glory; the *Word of the*  
 “ *Lord* is become King over you in his own  
 “ Name, as over his beloved and peculiar Peo-  
 “ ple.” Here his acting as King in *his own* Name is opposed to his acting in the Name of *God*: and accordingly, *Zechariah* calls him the

(*y*) *I Kings*, viii. 10, 11.    (*z*) ver. 20.    (*a*) *I Kings*, viii. ver. 32, 34, 36, 39, 43.    (*b*) ver. 20, 44, 48.  
 (*c*) ver. 29.    (*d*) ver. 27.    (*e*) on *Deut.* xxvi. 17, 18.



King of *Zion*; and describes his *Dominion* to be to the ends of the Earth. Hence it appears, that *all these Characters* centre in one and the same Person: so that *Peniel*, the *Face of God*; *El Bethel*, the God of *Bethel*; *El Shaddai*, God *Almighty*; the *Redeeming Angel*, the *Angel* of the *old and new Covenants*, the God of *Israel*, the God of *Hosts*, the *Name of God*, &c. are but different *Names* of one and the same *Angel*.

To confirm this, we may observe; that it nowhere appears through the whole Scripture, that our Fathers were ever delivered into the hand of *any other*, than that *one Angel*, to be their guide and conduct them; in *whom* God put his *Name* (f); as a particular mark of Distinction and Honour: and *no other* is called *Jehovah*, or is ever said to have appeared in *Shechinah*; though others were seen on several Occasions; as when they met *Jacob* on the way, and he said, this is *God's Host* (g). And no other is called our *God* and *King*, to whom the Patriarchs were commanded to build *Altars*. And but one in whom God has put his name, and described by his personal Attributes, which prove him to be considered as an Individual. And it is here that the *Jewish* and *Christian* Scriptures are in so extraordinary a manner connected in the same belief; that there is One *visible* God

(f) *Exod.* xxiii. 21. xxiv. 6.

(g) *Gen.* xxxii. 2.

and



and King to reign over them, and *but* One whom they call *Emmanuel*(*b*).

To this purpose *Ezekiel* says, “*David* my Servant shall be King over them; and *they all* shall have *one* Shepherd, and my Servant *David* shall be their *Prince* for-ever, and I will set *one Shepherd* over them, and he shall feed them; even my Servant *David*, and he shall be *their Shepherd*(*bb*). And this *Shepherd* of *Israel* is called by *Jehovah* of Hosts *my Shepherd* and *my Fellow*(*i*): and in *Pf. lxxx.* this *Shepherd* is described as *dwelling between the Cherubim*(*k*); and therefore can be no other than the *same* who dwelt in the Tabernacle, and had his Dwelling in the Bush(*l*); and is called an Angel(*m*). *Hosea* says, “The Children of *Israel* shall return and seek *Jehovah* their God, and *David* their King; and shall fear *Jehovah* in the latter days(*n*). And *Isaiab* says, “Their King shall be raised up to *David*: and of the Increase of his Government and Peace there shall be no end upon the Throne of *David*(*o*).” And *Micab* says, “*Jehovah* shall reign over them in Mount *Zion*; even for ever(*p*). And that the *Ruler in Israel* who shall come forth from *Bethlehem Ephrata* is he, whose goings-forth have been of old from everlasting(*q*):

(*b*) *Is. vii. 14. Mat. i. 23.* (*bb*) *Ezek. xxxiv. 23. xxxvii. 24, 25.* (*i*) *Zech. xiii. 7.* (*k*) *Pf. lxxx. 1.*  
 (*l*) *Deut. xxxiii. 16.* (*m*) *Acts vii. 30.* (*n*) *Hof. iii. 5.* (*o*) *Is. ix. 7.* (*p*) *Mic. iv. 7.* (*q*) *Mic. v. 2.*  
 which



which agrees with what *David* says in celebrating *Jab(r)*. Lastly, we find also in *Daniel*; that a *Lord* and *King* was expected by the *Jews*, who was to reign over them for-ever; and *Daniel* calls him *Messiah the Prince*, whose Kingdom should never be destroyed. And the *Christian* Scriptures allow, that this Person was the *Messiah*; as I shall hereafter shew: and that he is *Emmanuel*; and that we shall be saved by no other name under Heaven; and that his Dominion shall be extended over all the Earth; and all that the Angel promised to *Jacob* shall be fulfilled by him in the blessings which were to come upon all the families of the Earth. And this is what the Evangelists assure us; that the Angel *Gabriel* declared of *Jesus Christ* at his Birth; agreeably to all the Prophecies already quoted: “He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest; and the Lord shall give unto him the *Throne* of his Father *David*: and he shall reign over the House of *Jacob* for-ever; and of his *Kingdom* there shall be no end(s). This was likewise the Title, which *Christ* himself claimed: as appears by the Question, which *Pilate* asked; and his Answer to it Art thou the King of the *Jews*? says *Pilate*: To which *Jesus* answered, Thou sayst(t). And this it was, for which he was condemned: the

(r) *Pf.* lxxviii.  
2. *Mark* xv. 2.

(s) *Luke* i. 32, 33.

(t) *Mat.* xxvii.



Sum of the Charge brought against him being this, that he forbad Tribute to be paid to *Cæsar*; saying, he himself is *Christ*, a *King*(*u*). And it was on Account of this Claim, that they adorned him in Purple, with a Crown on his Head, and a Reed in his Hand; and bowed the Knee before him, saying; Hail, *King* of the *Jews*. And when the high Priest asked him, Art thou the *Christ*—the Son of God (*x*)? he mean'd to ask the very same Question, which *Pilate* had asked just before: for they understood the *Christ*, the Son of God, and the King of the *Jews*, to mean the same Person. And the Answer which he gave, was complete and determinate to the full Sense of the Question. *Jesus* said, Ye say that I am; that is, *I am*: and ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven(*y*). By these Words he declared himself openly and without disguise, to be the Son of Man prophesied of by *Daniel*; who should receive a

(*u*) *Luke* xxiii. 2.      (*x*) *Luke* xxii. 67, 70. *John* i. 49.

(*y*) *Mat.* xxvi. 64. *Christ* here refers to the Prophecy of *Daniel*, that the Son of Man should come with the Clouds of Heaven. *Dan.* vii. 13. Hence *Anani*, the Hebrew word for *Clouds*, was made a known name among the *Jews* for the *Messiah*; So that this answer was a confession, well understood by them, that *Christ* was *Anani*; or *Daniel's* Son of Man that comes in the Clouds. The Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry* quotes *Jarebi* and others, in proof of this; p. 108.



*kingdom* from the Most High, which should last for-ever, and over all Nations. So that both *Jews* and *Christians* not only agree, that there is but *One*; who is to *reign* over all Nations: but they also agree, that this is *Messiah*, the *Prince*; the same, whom *Malachi* declares to be the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; whom I have shewn to be the same that conducted our Fathers under the Name of *Jehovah*.

And accordingly, when *Jehovah* declares, *I will have Mercy upon the House of Israel; and I will save them by Jehovah their God(z). And I will strengthen them in Jehovah, and they shall walk up and down in his Name; saith Jehovah(a). And the Jehovah of Zion shall dwell in the Midst of his People; and they shall know that Jehovah of Hosts hath sent me(b).* The *Jehovah* by whom the supreme *Jehovah* will *save* us, and by whom we shall be *strengthened*, and who was to be *sent* by the *Jehovah* of Hosts, can be no other Person; than he, whom the Christians call *Emmanuel*; of whom *Paul* says, there is one *Mediator* between God and Man; the Man *Christ Jesus(c).* For there is neither *Jew* nor *Christian*, who believes, that any other *Jehovah* appeared among Men with power to *save*; or that we are *saved*

(z) *Hosea* i. 7.(a) *Zech.* x. 12.(b) *Zech.* ii. 9.(c) *I Tim.* ii. 5.



by any *other* Person; or that any other can be called *Emmanuel*.

And therefore I conclude; that all the *Appearances* of *Jehovah*, and all the *Conversations* we read of between a *visible Jehovah* and Man, were made by the *Angel of the Covenant*. That in the beginning when God said, *Let us make Man* (d); he said it to the *Son*, and not to *Himself*; and that “the *Son* wrought in the *Crëation*, upon the *Father’s* issuing out his *Fiat* or command for it: and that God the *Son* always acted in the *Father’s name*; as seems to have been the Opinion of *Philo*, and as *Tertullian* long ago professed(e). *Profitemur Christum semper egisse in Dei Patris nomine*: and again; *Filius visus est semper*; & *Filius conversatus est semper*; & *Filius operatus est semper*; *ex Auctoritate Patris & Voluntate*(f).

As I had just finished these pages, *Ben Saddai* happened to call upon me; and I shewed him what I had written, and asked him what he thought of it. The Old Man smiled, and said; he was very well satisfied that the *Messiah* was the *Angel of the Covenant*; and he thought it one of the strongest Objections against the *Christians*, that it is no part of *their Revelation*. “A “Doctrine of such importance, says he, if their “Religion came from God, would certainly be

(d) *Gen.* i. 26. (e) *Lib.* 2 cont. *Marc.* (f) *ad. Prax.* Sect. 16. p. 509. *Tenison* on *Idol.* 315.



“ revealed to *Them*, concerning *Their Messiah*,  
“ in *Their* Scriptures ; as well as it is to *Us*,  
“ concerning the *true Messiah*, in *Ours*. And if  
“ it does not appear, that *Christ* and his Apof-  
“ tles preached any *such* Doctrine, or knew of  
“ any *such* Thing : you may be sure, it is all a  
“ mere invention of their Followers since : to  
“ solve appearances, and prop a bad Cause from  
“ sinking. He added ; that the *Jehovah Angel*  
“ is *never once* mentioned, in the *Christian* Scrip-  
“ tures ; but *Another Person* introduced to sup-  
“ ply his Office ; whom our Fathers have not  
“ known ; and placed in a superior Station to  
“ him ; which the Christians finding to be *inde-*  
“ *fensible*, they are now endeavouring to *com-*  
“ *promise* matters, by pretending they are *One*  
“ and the *Same Person* ; attributing all the *Cha-*  
“ *raeters* of the *Jehovah Angel* to *Jesus Christ* ;  
“ though there is nothing in their Evangelists to  
“ bear them out in this most material part of  
“ his Character. And whereas They ought to  
“ prove him from their Scriptures to be the  
“ *Angel of the Covenant*, in order to his answer-  
“ ing the *Character* given of the *Messiah* by  
“ *Malachi* : they first take it for granted, that  
“ *He, Jesus*, is the *Messiah* ; and from thence  
“ argue, that He is the *Angel of the Covenant* :  
“ which, if it were true, *Christ* and his Apof-  
“ tles must have known it ; and mentioned it  
“ over and over. In short, *My Argument*,



“ says he, against you and your new Friends is  
 “ this ; If *Christ* were the *true Messiah*, he would  
 “ be the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, the *visible Jeho-*  
 “ *vah* ; but, as he hath never claimed this  
 “ Character to himself, nor his Apostles for  
 “ him ; he does not answer the Description  
 “ which the Prophet *Malachi* hath given of him ;  
 “ and therefore cannot be the *Messiah* we ex-  
 “ pected :” and he referred me to Mr. Collins’  
 scheme of literal Prophecy, who makes the same  
 Objection in page 120(g). I thought this  
 worth your Attention ; and shall give you the  
 sum of my answer, which I sent him in a Letter  
 a few days after.

In the 1st place, I observed ; that the word  
*Jehovah*, the *proper name* of the supreme, self-  
 existent God ; and by which name the *Angel* of  
 the *Covenant* was called, (because he supported  
 the *Character* and *Person* of the supreme God,  
 and acted in his name :) could not be so *properly*  
 applied to him, in the *New Testament* ; after he  
 had *ceased to support* that Character, and acted  
 as the *Messiah* in a Character of *his own* ; and  
 was to have a Kingdom, and gather Subjects  
 into it, and act in his *own Name*.

2dly, Whether it were *proper* or *no*, it is cer-  
 tain that the *Greek Version* both in the LXX and

(g) Mr. Collins’ reasoning upon it is considered in Let-  
 ter IV.

in



in the *New Testament*, translate the words *Jehovah* and *Adonai* by the same word *Κύριος*; and this, not only by way of *Explication*, but of *Distinction* and *particular Expression*. Thus we read<sup>(b)</sup>, that Men may know *that Thou, whose name alone is Jehovah, art the most high over all the Earth*: and the LXX read it, καὶ γνώτωσαν ὅτι ὄνομά σοι ΚΥΡΙΟΣ; and when God says, *I appeared unto Abraham, and unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, by my name [El Shaddai] God Almighty; but by my name Jehovah was I not known to them* (i); the LXX translate καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ἐκ ἐδήλωσα αὐτοῖς; and again, thus shalt thou say unto the Children of *Israel*; *Jehovah, the God of your Fathers hath sent me unto you*; the LXX translate, ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ὁ Θεὸς τῶν πατέρων, &c. This being the Case, it is manifest; that *Christ* and his Apostles, who used the *Greek Translation* of the LXX, did not refrain from the use of the Word *Jehovah*, because they did not mean to speak of *Jehovah* or his Angel; who are both called by that name in the Old Testament; but because the Word *Κύριος* was the Word then in use to express *Jehovah* as well as *Adonai*; as it is used *Pf. cx. 1.* quoted, *Mat. xxii. 44.* to express them both: *Jehovah* said unto my Lord, <sup>ἔειπεν ὁ Κύριος τῷ Κυρίῳ μου</sup> LXX—See *Acts iv. 26.* against the Lord, τῷ Κυρίῳ, and against his *Christ*, or his Anointed.

(b) *Pf. lxxxiii. 18.*(i) *Ex. vi. 3.*



And therefore, as the word *Κύριος* is constantly used in the *Lxx* and *New Testament* to express the Word *Jehovah*, in a *particular* Sense; as well as the Word *Lord*, in a *general* One; we can avail ourselves of no such Consequence as *Ben Saddai* hath drawn: But have reason to conclude, that *Κύριος* means *Jehovah*, in many places of the *New Testament*, where the word *Κύριος* is used; as it most certainly does in all those texts, which are taken from the *Old Testament*: where *Jehovah* is the *Κύριος* referred-to.

In short, the same Argument by which *Ben Saddai* would prove that the *Jehovah Angel* is never spoken-of in the *New Testament*, under the name *Κύριος*, will prove also; that the *supreme Jehovah* is never there spoken-of under *that name*: which we know to be false; as appears from the Texts already referred-to. And in the same manner it may be shewn, from the many Texts of the *Old Testament*, translated in the *New*, which refer-to the *Jehovah Angel*; that He is also spoken-of under *that Title*. To this purpose, Mr. *Ainsworth*, on *Gen. ii. 4.* instances *Rom. x. 9.* “If thou shalt confess, that *Jesus* “is the *Lord*; i. e. *Jehovah*; as he is named, “*Jer. xxiii, 6.* So, *I Cor. xii. 3.* No man can “say, that *Jesus* is the *Lord*; i. e. *Jehovah*; but “by the Holy Ghost.” Now it is certain; that if the original Word *Jehovah* had been preserved in



in the Translation of these Texts, instead of *Κύριος*, the proof that *Jesus* is called *Jehovah* would be indisputable.

But it is not much less certain in the *Translation*, than in the *Original*. For if we consider, that the *Christian* Revelation was originally made to the *Jews*; to whom *Christ* was sent a Minister of the Circumcision, for the Truth of God to confirm the promises made to our Fathers (*k*); that *Christ* was himself a *Jew*, and all his Apostles; and that the Word *Κύριος* is used by them in an absolute *sense*, when speaking to our Nation; we must conclude, that they could mean no *other* Person than *Jehovah*; nor could it possibly be understood by a *Jew* in any *other* sense: for they knew no *other* *Κύριος*, or Lord. If they spake-of an *invisible* Lord in an *absolute* sense, they could understand no other *Lord*, but the *supreme* Lord and Governor of the Universe: and if they spake-of a *visible* Lord in an *absolute* sense, they could understand no other Person, but the *same* who revealed the will of God to *Moses*. But farther——

Though the Word *Jehovah* be not used in the *New Testament* at all, either of *God* or *Christ*; yet as the *invisible* Lord there spoken-of is known by his Attributes to be *no other* Person than the *supreme* *Jehovah*; so the *visible* Lord there spo-

(*k*) *Rom.* xv. 8. *Mat.* xv. 24. *Acts* iii. 26—xiii. 46.



ken-of may be no less certainly known, by his Description and Character, to be no other Person than the *Jehovah Angel*.

*Ben Saddai* objects, that the *Christians* arbitrarily declare *Christ* to be the *Messiah*; and from thence assume a right of saying he is the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, and every thing else that is declared of the *Messiah* in the Prophets; without any Authority from their own Scriptures. But this I deny; and shall take upon me to shew, that they assume no more than their Scriptures will warrant them to do; which will be amply sufficient to ascertain the Person of *Christ* and the visible *Jehovah* to be the same. And the proofs drawn from the *Christian* Scriptures, that *Jesus* is the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, are these.

I. It is very remarkable; that all the Evangelists, in the beginning of their Gospels, where they describe the *Person* of the *Messiah* and the Connection between the Old and New Testament, have expressed themselves so clearly upon this Subject; as to be liable to no Mistake. St. *Matthew*(1), speaking of *John* the Harbinger of *Christ*, tells us expressly; "This is *He* that was spoken-of by the Prophet *Isaias*; saying, the Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, prepare the way of the *Lord*, make his paths straight." St. *Mark* also begins his Gospel in the same

(1) *Mat.* iii. 3.



manner(*m*). “The beginning of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*, the Son of God : as it is written in the Prophets, Behold I send my Messenger before thy face, which shall prepare thy way before Thee ; The Voice of one crying in the Wilderness, Prepare ye the way of the *Lord*, make his paths straight (*n*) ;” and the same Prophecies are quoted by St. *Luke*(*o*), and by St. *John*, as the Testimony of *John* the Baptist(*p*). Now in the original Prophecy of *Isaiab*, the Words are these. “Prepare ye the way of *Jehovah* :” and consequently the *Christ*, whose way the *Baptist* was to prepare, is here considered by the Evangelist to be the same person whom *Isaiab* calls *Jehovah* ; i. e. the *Jehovah* who was so often promised to our Fathers to come and save them, and dwell among them, and bring in a new Covenant ; as it is prophecied by *Jeremiah*(*q*). “Behold the days come, saith the Lord *Jehovah* ; that I will make a new Covenant with the house of *Israel* and with the house of *Judah* ; not according to the Covenant that I made with their Fathers,” &c. Here we find *all* the four Evangelists bearing witness to the same thing ; that *Jesus* is the *Jehovah* prophecied of by *Isaiab* : whose way the *Baptist* was to prepare. And if this was not so understood by them, it had been impossible they should found their Gospels upon this

(*m*) *Mark* i. 1.    (*n*) *Is.* xl. 3. *Mal.* iii. 1.    (*o*) *Luke*  
i. 76.    (*p*) i. 23.    (*q*) *Jer.* xxxi. 31.



Prophecy ; which upon such a supposition, must be nothing to the purpose.

2. It appears from *Moses*, that “*God (Elohim)* created the Heavens and the Earth ;” it was *God* that commanded, and they were created : by the *Word* of *Jehovah* were the Heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his Mouth : or by his command. And nobody can doubt, that the Apostles of *Christ* believed this. And yet St. *John* tells us, and his Words are very remarkable : “ In the beginning was the *Word*, and the *Word* was with *God*, and the *Word* was *God* : All things were made by him ; and without him was not any thing made, that was made(*r*).” And by the *Word* he means *Jesus Christ*. But how could these things be consistent ; unless the Evangelist believed, that *Jesus Christ* was the *Elohim*, who appeared all along in the Old Testament under the Title of *God* ; or the *Angel of the Lord* ; by whom *God* at first created all things : *i. e.* the Visible *Jehovah*, or *Word* of *God* ; as he is called by *Philo* and the *Jews* of that age ?

To this we may add the Testimony of St. *Paul* ; who tells us, that *God* created all things by *Jesus Christ* (*s*) ; and speaks in the name of the Father to the Son, saying ; “ Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundations of the

(*r*) *John* i. 1, 3.

(*s*) *Eph.* iii. 9.

Earth ;



Earth; and the Heavens are the work of thy hands(*t*).” And again he tells us; “*Christ* is the Image of the *Invisible* God, the First-born of the whole Crëation; *πάσης κτίσεως*” and that by him were all things crëated, that are in Heaven and are in Earth, visible and invisible; whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Principalities, or Powers; all things were crëated *by* him, and *for* him(*u*).” In like manner, St. *Peter* tells us; “For this they [the *Heathens*] willingly are ignorant of; that by the *Word* of God the Heavens were of Old: and by the same *Word* the Heavens and Earth are kept in Store, reserved unto Fire (*x*); and *by Him* all things consist(*y*).” Now if the World was made by the *Word* of God, or by the Image of the invisible God; whom *John*, *Paul* and *Peter* all agree to be the *Christ*; they must all understand him to be the visible *Jehovah*; agreeably to the common Language of those Times.

3. This farther appears from the particulars, by which the *Christ* and the Visible *Jehovah* are described. The Apostle tells us, that *Christ* had been *ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ* in the *Form* of God. Now this expression answers exactly to the description of the *Jehovah Angel*, who is called the *Face* or *Presence* of God; *εἶδος Θεοῦ*. And as the *Jehovah Angel* is said, in the book of Num-

(*t*) *Pf.* cii. 25.

(*u*) *Col.* i. 15, 16. *II Peter* iii. 5.

(*x*) *II Peter* iii.

(*y*) *Col.* i. 17.



bers, [xii. 8.] to be the *Similitude* of *Jehovah*; so in the Christian Scriptures the same Character is observed of *Christ*; and he is said to be the *Brightness* or *Ray* of his Glory, and the *express Image* of his Person(z), and the *Image* of the *invisible God*(a). And as the same Person is by *Moses*(b) called an *Angel* of *Jehovah*, as well as *Jehovah*; and by *Hosea*(c) and *Zechariah* the *Angel* of *God*, as well as *God*(d). So is *Christ*, in the Christian Scriptures, called both *God*, and an *Angel* of *God*(e). And therefore they both answer the same Character: which no other Being in the Universe does.

4. St. *John*, speaking of the Glory of *Christ*, says; that we beheld his *Glory*; the Glory as of the *Only-begotten of the Father*. Now the *Only-begotten* of the Father, according to the Language of those Times, was the *visible Jehovah*; whom *Philo* calls the *Son of God*, and the *First-begotten* of the Father before all Creatures, and the *Word of God*: And his Glory was the *Shechinah*, or  $\delta\omicron\zeta\alpha\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ , mentioned so often in the LXX Translation. And as this Text is understood, by some Commentators, to compare the Glory of *Christ* to the Glory of the *Only-begotten of the Father*; and by the Comparison to shew what kind of Glory *Christ's* was; the Glory of the

(z) *Heb.* i. 3.(a) *Col.* i. 15.(b) *Ex.* iii. 2, 4, 6.(c) *Hosea* xii. 4.(d) *Zeck.* xii. 8.(e) *Acts* vii. 30,32. 35, 38, &c. *Gal.* iv. 14.



Only-begotten of the Father must be considered here as a *known* thing. But the Glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, as known to the *Jews*, and so often mentioned in the Old Testament; was no other than the *Shechinah*.

But we are told, by *Piscator* and others; that the particle *ὡς*, (as) does not here signify *Similitude*; but *Reality* or *Certainty*: and if so the words must be; “we beheld his Glory, *namely* the Glory or *Shechinah* of the Only-begotten of the Father; and, as *Dr. Hammond* explains it, such a Glory as was incompatible with any other but the *True Eternal Son of God*.” And this seems to be the right meaning.

But the *Shechinah*, in which *Christ* appeared, when he was transfigured in the presence of the three Apostles, *Peter*, *James* and *John*, which is here alluded-to; was not appropriated to the *eternal Son of God*, or the *Only-begotten of the Father*; if the same Person was not also the *visible Jehovah*: as will appear by comparing the divine Glory in which *Christ* then appeared, with the Glory in which the *Jehovah Angel* appeared to our Fathers.

Now the Glory in which *Christ* appeared is described by *Matthew*, *Mark*, and *Luke* (*f*); and the History is as follows. *Christ* had promised to his Disciples, saying; “there be some

(*f*) *Mat.* xvii. 1. *Mark* ix. 2. *Luke* ix. 28.

standing



standing here, which shall not taste of Death; till they see the Son of Man coming in his *kingdom*:" and about six or eight days afterwards, *Jesus* taketh *Peter* and *James*, and *John* his brother, and bringeth them up into a high Mountain apart; and his Countenance was altered and his Face did shine as the Sun, and his Raiment was glittering and white, as the Light; so white, as no Fuller on Earth could whiten it; and a Cloud over-shadowed them, and they feared as they entered into the Cloud: and when the Apostle gives an account of seeing the same Glory in *Vision*, he says; his Countenance was as the Sun shining in his strength(g).

But this Description of the Glory of *Christ* is the same with that which is given by *Moses*; when he describes the appearance of the *visible Jehovah* in the Mount(b). "And *Moses* went up into the Mount, and a Cloud covered the Mount, and the Glory of *Jehovah* abode upon Mount *Sinai*—and the Sight of the Glory (i) of *Jehovah* was like devouring fire on the Top of the Mount, in the Eyes of the Children of *Israel*; and *Moses* went into the Midst of the Cloud." And in other places we read(k), that a Cloud covered the Congregation; and the Glory of *Jehovah* appeared in the Cloud, and filled the Tabernacle; and *Moses* was not able to enter

(g) *Rev.* i. 16.(b) *Ex.* xxiv. 15, 16, 17, 18.*Aspectus Angeli Dei.*

Arab.

(k) *Ex.* xl. 34, 35.

into



into the Tent of the Congregation, because the Cloud abode thereon.

Now these two descriptions are the same, in every particular. The *Glory* is compared to *Light* and *Fire*, in both of them; and in both we find the appearance of a *Cloud*; and both *Moses* and the *Apostles* fearful of entering into the Cloud. And it was the sight of this *Glory*, as being the same which used to rest upon the Tabernacle of Old, that put it into *Peter's* thoughts to build a *New Tabernacle* for it's reception now; that the *Glory of the Lord* might continue among them in the Tabernacle he should then build; as it used to do in former times in the *Old Tabernacle*. But in the Confusion of mind he then was, he purposed to build Tabernacles also for *Moses* and *Elias*.

5. But farther: in the same manner as *Moses* refers to this appearance of the *Shechinah*; so do the Prophets and Apostles to the *Glory of Christ*. *Moses* had said(*l*), *Jehovah* thy God is a *consuming Fire*; even a jealous God: So *St. Paul* referring to the *Glory of Christ*, says; "The Lord will appear in *flaming Fire*, taking Vengeance(*m*), and destroy with the *Brightness* of his coming(*n*). And it is with reference to this *Glory*, that *John* in the *Apocalypse* says, of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*; the City had no need of the Sun, neither

(*l*) *Deut.* iv. 24—ix. 3.    (*m*) *II Thess.* i. 7, 8.    (*n*) *II Thess.* ii. 8.



of the Moon to shine in it; for the *Glory* of God,  $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$   $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omicron}$ , did enlighten it; and the *Lamb* is the Light thereof:" But by the Lamb is mean'd *Christ*. Here then the Apostle plainly declares *Christ* to be the *Shechinah*; and consequently, the visible *Jehovah*.

6. It is thought, by many learned men; that the Brightness of the *Shechinah* was the Glory of the *Angel* of the *Presence*, and of his attendant Spirits or Ministers; and that in relation to this appearance it is said(o), "*Jehovah* came from *Sinai*, and rose up from *Seir* unto them: he shined forth from Mount *Paran*, and he came with ten thousand of Saints: from his right-hand went a fiery Law for them." So also, in the *Psalms* (p): "The Chariots of God are twenty thousand; even thousands of Angels; *Jehovah* is among them as in *Sinai*, in the holy place:" And so, in *Daniel*(q), the *Shechinah* of the supreme *Jehovah* is thus described in *Vision*; "A fiery Stream issued and came forth from before him; thousand thousands ministred unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him." From these Texts, and from its being said in *their* Scriptures(r), "the Law was given by *Angels*," it is supposed by the Christians; that the *Shechinah*, or *Glory*, was made by the presence of the *Jehovah Angel*, accompanied

(o) *Deut.* xxxiii. 2.      (p) *Pf.* xviii. 17.      (q) *Dan.* vii. 10.      (r) *Acts* vii. 53.



by his Attendants. But whether it be so or no, for there is no proof that the Angels did or did not compose any part of the Glory: it is however very remarkable, that the *Apostles* speak of the appearance of *Christ* at the Day of Judgment in the very same language as the *Prophets* speak of the appearance of the *Jehovah Angel*. “The Son of Man shall come in the *Glory* of his Father(s)—When the Son of Man shall come in his *Glory*, and all the holy Angels with him; then shall he sit upon the throne of his *Glory*(t)—The Lord *Jesus* shall be revealed from Heaven with his mighty *Angels*(u)—Of him shall the Son of Man be ashamed; when he cometh in the *Glory* of his Father, with the holy *Angels*(x).” Now as the New-Testament Writers describe their *Emmanuel* in the same *Glory* and Attendance, as *Moses* and the *Prophets* describe the *Angel Jehovah*; it is a strong Argument that they considered him as the same Person.

But *St. John* in another place has decided this Question beyond all dispute; by declaring the *Glory* which *Isaiab* saw, and which was undeniably the *Glory* of the visible *Jehovah*, to be the *Glory* of *Christ* himself. These Things said *Isaiab*, when he saw his [*Christ's*] *Glory*; and

(s) *Mat.* xvi. 27. (t) xxv. 31. (u) *II Theff.* i. 7.  
(x) *Mark* viii. 38.



spake of him(y). Now the Words which *John* quotes from the Prophet, we find in *Isaiah* vi. 1. where the Prophet describes the *Glory* of the visible *Jehovah*, as follows. “I saw also *Jehovah* sitting upon his Throne, high and lifted up (*i. e.* upon the Mercy Seat) and his train filled the Temple : [πλήρης ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ say the LXX.] above him stood the *Cherubim* ; each had six Wings, &c.” The whole account is grand and magnificent, and descriptive of the *Shechinah* on the Mercy Seat between the two *Cherubim* ; where the *Angel Jehovah* used to appear : and accordingly the Prophet says, “mine Eyes have seen the *Jehovah* of Hosts.” But *John* tells us ; this *Glory*, which the Prophet saw, was the *Glory* of *Christ* : and consequently he declares, that *Christ* is the *Visible Jehovah*, or the *Jehovah* of Hosts ; as he is called *Hos.* xii. 5. and in other places(z).

7. We read ; that *Jehovah* stood upon the Rock in *Horeb* ; and ordered *Moses* to smite the Rock : and the Waters flowed out of the Rock, and the name of the place was called *Massah* and

(y) *John* xii. 41. For *Christ* was he, whose *Glory* *Isaiah* saw ; as St. *John* doth testify : for of him the Apostle speaketh in this place, and of none but him. See *Pearson* p. 125. Dr. *Whitby*, edit. 3. p. 321. explains this Vision of the *Glory* of *Christ* not of God the Father, and consequently this was the visible *Jehovah*.

(z) See *Allix* on the *Jewish* Church, p. 245.

*Meribah* ;



*Meribab*; because they tempted *Jehovah*, saying, is *Jehovah* with us or not(*a*)? But the Apostle *Paul* refers all this History to Christ; and says, they did all drink of that Spiritual Rock, which followed them; [or accompanied them, ἀκολουθῶνς] and that *Rock* was *Christ*(*b*). *Christ* therefore, according to St. *Paul*, was the Person who afforded meat and drink to our Forefathers in a miraculous manner, while they sojourned in the Wilderness; and consequently, he was the *Angel* of the *Presence*; or the *visible Jehovah*. “Hence it followeth, says Archbishop *Tenison*; that he who appeared to the People “in the Wilderness was the *Logos* of God(*c*).” And *Chrysostom* thus argues: “The Rock was “*Christ*: he does not say it was the Nature of “the Stone, but the power of God operating “in it, which opened the Fountains:—Here “he [St. Paul] entirely roots-up the Heresy of “*Paulus Samosatenus*: For if it was *Christ*, who “did all these things; how can it be said, that “he only existed from the time of his Birth of “the Virgin *Mary*(*d*)?” And to the same purpose afterwards(*e*), and in numberless other places, he speaks of Christ as the *Jehovah* that appeared.

(*a*) *Ex.* xvii. 6, 7.  
on Idolatry. p. 333.  
(*e*) p. 378.

(*b*) *I Cor.* x. 4, 9.

(*c*) *Tenison*

(*d*) *T.* v. p. 347. *Eton* edit.



8. We are informed by *Moses*, that the People spake against *Jehovah*, and against *Moses* at *Tsalmona*; and *Jehovah* sent fiery Serpents among them. But *St. Paul* tells us, that *Jehovah* was *Christ*. For, speaking of this History, he says; neither let us tempt *Christ*, as some of them also tempted; and were destroyed of Serpents(*f*).

9. *St. Paul*(*g*), considers the Person who spake on Mount *Sinai*; whose Voice then shook the Earth, and who is called *Jehovah*(*b*), to be the same person that is prophesied-of by *Haggai*(*i*), *i. e.* the *Messiah*, according to the Interpretation of the ancient *Jews*; and *Jesus Christ*, according to the *Apostle*(*k*). See, says he, that ye refuse not *him* that speaketh: For if they escaped not, who refused him that spake on *Earth*; (*i. e.* when he gave the Law,) much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from *Heaven*; whose Voice then shook the Earth; but now *he* hath promised, saying; Yet once more I shake not the

(*f*) *Numb.* xxi. 5. xxxii. 41. *Cor.* x. 9. *Grotius* supposes a false reading here; and reads, according to the *Alexan.* Copy, Let us not tempt God. See what is said in the *Unitar.* Tracts; Vol. III, Tract viii. p. 57. *Epiphanius* says, the Text was corrupted by *Marcion.* *Epiph.* l. 1. T. 1. p. 358. Edit. *Petav.* (*g*) *Heb.* xii. (*b*) *Ex.* xix. 18. (*i*) *Hag.* ii. 7. (*k*) *Heb.* xii. 25, 26.



Earth only, but also Heaven(*l*).” It is plain from the relative words in this Sentence agreeing to the same antecedent, as well as by the History, that there is but *one* person here spoken-of; and that is *Christ*; the same Person to *whom* the Apostle was admonishing the *Hebrews* to listen; whose Blood speaketh better things than that of *Abel*; and consequently, he supposes *Christ* to be the same Person as the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; who gave the Law from Mount *Zion*, and whose voice then shook the Earth: for, as to the voice of the supreme God, it was never heard at all. I shall only add here; that the last Verse of this Chapter, “For our God is a consuming Fire;” seems to relate to the *Angel* of the *Covenant*: of whom it is said, upon the passage over *Jordan*: “Understand therefore this Day, that *Jehovah* thy God is he which goeth over before thee as a consuming Fire; he shall destroy them, (the *Anakim*) and he shall bring them down before thy Face(*m*).”

10. The Apostle tells us, that it was by *Christ* that God made the Worlds (*n*): [*αἰῶνας*, the Ages or Dispensations] *i. e.* “by whom God formerly disposed and ordered those eminent and

(*l*) See *Aquila* in *Talmud*, *parum regni dabo Israelitis post destructionem*; (sc. *Templi primi*) & post illud Regnum, ecce commovebo Cœlum & Terram; & veniet *Messias*. (*m*) *Deut.* ix. 3. (*n*) *Heb.* i. 2—xi. 3.



remarkable periods of Time: the *Antediluvian*, the *Patriarchal*, the *Mosaic*, and the *Present*, being put under his Government; according to the will of the Father." Now the *Ages* or *Dispensations* before Christ, we know from our own Scriptures, were ordered by the *Angel Jehovah*: and if *He* were not the *Christ*, the Old and New Testament contradict one another; by ascribing the *same* Government to two *different* Beings. St. *Paul* therefore could mean no other Person by *Christ*, than the *same Logos*, or *Word of God*, whom *Philo* and all of that Age understood to be the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, or the *Angel Jehovah*. The *same* Truth is confirmed by many other References in the Gospels and Epistles; in which the Sense is defective, upon any other Principle.

11. St. *Paul* argues from *Joel*(*nn*). It is written; [*Joel* ii. 32.] *and it shall come to pass that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord*, [in the original it is *Jehovah*] shall be delivered: and these Words are quoted by St. *Paul* to prove that "whosoever shall confess with the mouth the Lord *Jesus*, and believe in his heart that God hath raised him from the dead, shall be saved." Now if *Christ* is not the *Jehovah* spoken-of by *Joel*, this Text is nothing to the purpose; as Bp. *Burnet* observes in his letter to Mr. *Hill*. See also *Whitby* ad loc.

(*nn*) Rom. x. 9.

12. Again;



12. Again; *St. Paul* tells us<sup>(o)</sup> that “*Moses* esteemed the Reproach of *Christ* greater Riches than the Treasures in *Egypt*; for he had respect unto the recompense of the Reward.” The *Christian* Commentators are much divided, how to understand those Words; *the Reproach of Christ*: and in order to explain them, have formed an Hypothesis; that the Doctrine of *Christ*’s Sufferings and Death were as well known to the *Patriarchs*, as they were afterwards. Whereas if they considered *Christ* to be the visible *Jehovah*; as *St. Paul* did, and as they themselves are obliged to do sometimes; the Interpretation would be plain and easy.—We are told of *Moses*, that—he refused to be called the Son of *Pharaoh*’s Daughter; choosing rather to suffer affliction with the People of *God*; (*i. e.* the People of *Jehovah*) than to enjoy the pleasures of Sin for a Season<sup>(p)</sup>. And the beginning of the Revelation to *Moses*, concerning their Deliverance, was; that they should be called the People of *Jehovah*<sup>(q)</sup>. And this name was cast in their Teeth,

(o) *Heb.* xi. 26.

(p) *Heb.* xi. 24.

(q) *Moses* tells the *Jews*, *Jehovah* the God of the *Hebrews* is called upon us; *Gen.* iii. 18. v. 3. so it is rendered in both these places in the *LXX*, and also in *Onkelos*, and in *Jerom*’s Translation: which shews, that they who made those Translations had it so in their Bibles. And so the meaning is plain, the Name *Jehovah* is called upon us; that is, *Jehovah* hath given us that Name to call ourselves by:



Teeth as a Reproach; and looked-upon by the *Egyptians*, as the *Abomination* of the *Israelites*; in like manner as *Milcom* or *Ashtaroth* were looked-upon as the *Abomination* of the *Heathens*. For the *Egyptians* considered the God *Jehovah*, as a God of no Power or Dominion: so that, when *Moses* addressed himself to *Pharaoh* in his Name, he answers him with the highest Contempt; Who is *Jehovah*, that I should obey his Voice to send away *Israel*? I know not *Jehovah*; neither will I send away *Israel*. The reproach of *Christ* therefore means the name of *Jehovah*: the name, which *Christ* then bare; and with which they were reproached, as being his People. And it is to be understood in the same sense, as in the 1st Epistle of *Peter*(r), If ye be reproached (in or) for the Name of *Christ*, ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, happy are ye. So also, *Heb.* xiii. 13. Let us go-forth therefore unto him without the Camp, bearing his *Reproach*; which

by: and he saith, let my People go, that they may serve me. *Bp. Lloyd*, p. 24. To the same purpose, see *Ainsworth* on *Gen.* xlviii. 16. Let my Name be named on them; i. e. let them be called by my Name, as my adopted Children; ver. 5. So God's Name is said to be called on us; *Deut.* xxviii. 10—II *Chron.* vii. 14—*Jer.* xiv. 9. as the Husband's Name is called upon the Wife; *Is.* iv. 1. and the Lord's Name upon *Jerusalem*. *Dan.* xix. 19. and upon the Temple. I *Kings* viii. 43—*Jer.* vii. 10, 11.

(r) *Peter* iv. 4.

*Grotius*



*Grotius* explains, the Reproach which they bare for his Name's sake(s). And so *the Sufferings of Christ*, signify the Sufferings which the Apostles bare for the sake of *Christ* (t): for as the Sufferings of *Christ* abound in us, so our Consolation also aboundeth by *Christ*. "If any Man suffer as a *Christian* says the Apostle *Peter*; let him not be ashamed(u)." Now, if these learned Men are right, the Reproach of *Christ*, may mean the Reproach which *Moses* suffered for his Name; because he chose to be numbered among the People of *Jehovah*, rather than be called the Son of *Pharaoh's* daughter, and an *Egyptian*. The *Egyptians* reproached and afflicted the *Israelites*; because they worshipped *Jehovah*, and were called by his Name; but *Moses* esteemed that Reproach more than all the Treasures in *Egypt*: for he had respect to the Reward which he expected to receive from *Jehovah*, who sent him; and whom *St. Paul* considers, in his future Character of the *Christ*: and it could not be called the Reproach of *Christ*, in any other sense.

13. We are told by *Peter*; that *Christ* suffered—being put to death in the *Flesh*, but quickened by the *Spirit*; by which also He went and preached unto the Spirits in Prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long-suf-

(s) *Mat.* v. 11.  
iv. 26.

(t) *II Cor.* i. 5.

(u) *I Peter*,



fering of God waited in the days of *Noah*: while the Ark was preparing(x).

Now whatever be mean'd by the *Spirits in Prison*; it is plain that the Apostle is speaking of Christ's preaching to *Men*, in the days of *Noah*; which is enough for my purpose here. And thence I argue; that, if Christ be not the visible *Jehovah*; we are at a loss what this History can relate-to; but if they be *One* and the *same Person*, under different Names; the words of the Apostle agree with the History of those times, as given us by *Moses* (y): "And *Jehovah* said, my Spirit shall not always strive with Man; for that he also is *Flesh*: yet his days shall be a hundred and twenty years(z)." This was the time of *Jehovah's* Forbearance and long-suffering, while the Ark was in building: during which time his Spirit continued to preach to those disobedient Spirits, by *Noah*; whom he inspired to foretell their destruction, if they did not repent within that space of time(a).

14. The *Christians* universally allow the *Adon* or *Lord*, of whom the Prophet *Malachi* declares that he shall suddenly come to his Temple; to be the *Christ*: and the Apostles quote the Text to that purpose. But how can it be called *His* Temple, if *He* be not the visible *Jehovah*? The Temple succeeded in the place of the Ta-

(x) I *Pet.* iii. 18, 19, 20. (y) *Gen.* vi. 3. (z) ver. 18.  
(a) ver. 13.



bernacle; and the Tabernacle was built for the residence of *Jehovah* between the Cherubim; and the Temple was built for the *Name* of *Jehovah*; *i. e.* the same Person: and he continued to appear upon the Mercy-Seat, after it was placed in the Temple; and the Temple was *Jehovah's* Temple(*b*). How then can it be said to be the *Messiah's* Temple; if he be not *Jehovah*(*c*)? *Vatablus* indeed tells us, that *Jehovah's* Temple is here called the Temple of *Christ*: and so we are told by *Calvin*(*d*); that *Christ* speaks not as a Man or an *Angel*, but as *Jehovah*; by which name he is there called: and in numberless Places of the *Critici Sacri*, the *Christian* Commentators tell us, that by *Jehovah*, who appears and speaks, is mean'd *Christ*. But why then do they not universally allow it through the whole Bible, whenever the visible *Jehovah* is spoken-of? If *Christ* be not the visible *Jehovah*, why do they not *deny it every where*? and if he be, why do they not *own it every where*? If he be so *at all*, he must be so always.

15. As the Temple of *Jehovah* is called the Temple of *Christ*, in the New Testament; so the People of *Jehovah* are called the People of *Christ*; or his *own*: which they could not be,

(*b*) II *Kings* viii.      (*c*) The *Jews* maintain, that the *Shechinah* and the *Logos* are the same; and that the Temple was dedicated to *God* and to his *Shechinah*. *Aliix*, 329.  
(*d*) on *Zech.* ii. 10.



if *Christ* was not supposed to be *Jehovah*.—Nothing can be more clearly revealed, than the Peculiarity of *Our Nation*. “When the most High divided to the Nations their inheritance, when he separated the Sons of *Adam*, he set the bounds of the People, according to the number of the Children of *Israel*: (or, as the LXX read it, according to the number of the *Angels* of *God*.) For *Jehovah*’s portion is his People; *Jacob* is the Lot of his Inheritance(*e*). He chose them to be a special People to himself, above all the People who were upon the Face of the Earth; though all the Earth were his (*f*): to be a People of Inheritance(*g*); a peculiar Treasure to him (*h*): and therefore *Isaiab* says; “We are *Thine*; *Thou* never bearest rule over *Them*; (the Heathen; but how can this be said of the supreme God?) *They* never were called by *Thy* Name.” And therefore, when the Evangelist St. *John*, speaking of the *Word* of *God*, says; “He came into the World, and the World knew him not; he came unto his own, and his own received him not(*i*):” nothing ever appeared more plain to me, than that the Words *His Own*, related to this Peculiarity; and the Evangelist was considering him as King of the *Jews*, our Lord and King of old.

(*e*) *Deut.* xxxii. 8, 9.

(*f*) *Deut.* vii. 6. xiv. 2.

xxvi. 18.

(*g*) *Deut.* iv. 20.

(*h*) *Ex.* xix. 5.

(*i*) *John* i. 10, 11.



Ἐγγύς ἔην ἰδίων, ἴδιοι δὲ μιν ἄφρονι λύσση

Ὡς ξένον ἐκ ἀγέραιον. Nonn.

*Prope erat proprios; sui vero cum imprudenti rabie ut peregrinum eum non honorabant.*

But if Christ were not the *Jehovah*, whose People and Subjects *We* are in a particular manner, more than the rest of the World; we can neither be called *his own*; nor had he any kind of Connection with our Nation, till after he was born into this world.

16. And this interpretation is confirmed, by a very remarkable reference to the *same Truth* by St. Paul; who says, speaking of Christ's Exaltation; "Thy Throne, O God, is forever and ever; a Sceptre of Righteousness is the Sceptre of thy Kingdom: Thou hast loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the Oil of Gladness, above thy Fellows(k)." These words are quoted from *Psf.* xlv. 6, 7. and applied to *Christ*: and the reason here given of *Christ's* Exaltation above his fellows, is; because he loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; and the Sceptre of his *Kingdom* was a righteous Sceptre. But where was the Righteousness of this *Kingly* Government manifested? He declared himself to be the *King* of the *Jews*; his Disciples owned him as such; and he had,

(k) *Heb.* i. 8, 9.



in the Character of the *Jehovah Angel*, exercised the *regal* Power for many Ages; and had been celebrated under that Title by the *Jewish* Prophets<sup>(1)</sup>: Why then do the *Christians* exclude all these Considerations from the Apostle's meaning in this Text; and confine the Righteousness of his Sceptre to his behaviour under the Character of the *Son of Man*? When, on the one hand, if he be not considered as the *Jehovah Angel*; it does not appear how he could be called the *King* of the *Jews*, in any sense at all; for he was a Stranger to them and to their Fathers: And, on the other hand, in the Character of the *Son of Man*, he had exercised *no* *Kingly* Office.—His righteous Government, as a *King*, seems to be here mentioned; as a chief instance of his Love of Righteousness, for which he was exalted; (after having manifested the highest instance of it, by his Death:) and it seems therefore much more probable to relate to his pass'd conduct and *kingly* Government over our Nation, in the Character of the *Jehovah Angel*; than to any thing future: as all his acts of *regal* Government over the *Christians*, were to be. St. Paul goes so far back to shew his power, [ver. 10.] as to instance his first laying the foundations of the Earth, and forming the Heavens; which were the actions of the *Jehovah Angel*. And his Righteousness

(1) See Pierce on Heb. i. 9.



was no less conspicuous; when acting in the name of God he shewed his Love of Righteousness, and hatred of Iniquity, through the whole *Jewish* Dispensation. For though he was afflicted in all their afflictions, and was grieved for the misery of *Israel*; yet when they rebelled, and vexed his holy Spirit; he turned to be their Enemy, and fought against them<sup>(m)</sup>. Whether this be the most natural sense to a *Christian*, I do not pretend to judge: but it must appear in a very strong and striking Light, to every one that considers *Christ* as the *Angel*, by whom God governed our Fathers; and who is so often celebrated by *David*, as our *Lord* and *King of old*.

17. This Doctrine is most fully confirmed, by the Lamentation of *Christ* over our unhappy City: wherein he not only speaks of himself as the *Jehovah Angel*, who was *return'd* to dwell among us, according to his promise<sup>(n)</sup>; but as the Person, who had *presided* over them in former days; and would *again return* and *save* them, in the *latter* days; before the End of the World. The two Evangelists, *Matthew* and *Luke*, inform us; that *Christ* beheld the City of *Jerusalem*, and brake-forth into this pathetic and compassionate Lamentation: “O  
 “ *Jerusalem, Jerusalem*; which killest the Pro-  
 “ phets, and stonest them that are sent unto

(m) *Is.* lxiii. 9, 10.

(n) *Zeck.* ii. 10, &c.

“ thee;



“ thee; *how often* would I have gathered thy  
 “ Children together, as a Hen doth gather her  
 “ Brood under her Wings; and ye would not?  
 “ behold, your house is left unto you desolate:  
 “ and verily I say unto you, ye shall not see me  
 “ henceforth; till ye shall say, Blessed is he  
 “ that cometh in the name of the Lord(o).”

And again, the Evangelist *Luke* tells us(p);  
 that, when *Jesus* was come near, (to *Jerusalem*,)  
 he beheld the City and wept over it; saying,  
 “ If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in  
 “ this thy day, the things which belong unto  
 “ thy peace; but now they are hid from thine  
 “ Eyes. For the days shall come upon thee,  
 “ that thine enemies shall cast a trench about  
 “ thee, and compass thee round, and keep  
 “ thee in on every side, and shall lay thee even  
 “ with the ground, and thy Children within  
 “ thee;—and they shall not leave in thee one  
 “ Stone upon another: because thou knewest  
 “ not the *time of thy Visitation*.”

In these Words there are several very remarkable References to the History and Character of the *Jehovah Angel*; which are appropriated to *Christ*, by himself.

First, he says; “ *how often* would I have  
 “ gathered thy Children together, as a Hen  
 “ doth gather her Brood under her Wings;

(o) *Luke* xiii. 34. *Mat.* xxiii, 37, 38, 39. (p) *Luke*  
 xix. 41, 42, 43, 44.

“ and



“and ye would not!” Now in what History do we find this, or any other Account of the *Messiah's* Care and Superintendence over the Children of *Israel*, before he was incarnate? No where. We are indeed informed(*q*); that the *Jehovah Angel* found him in a desert Land, and in the waste howling Wilderiness; and He led him about, He instructed him, He kept him as the apple of his Eye—So *Jehovah alone* did lead him; there was no strange God with him, ver. 12. but we do not find a word of *Christ* in this Account, if he be not the *same Jehovah*; nay, he is excluded by the very words of *Moses*: for *Jehovah alone* did lead him.

Dr. *Hammond* and most of the *Christian* Commentators explain this *gathering* of the Children together to mean *Christ's* passionate invitations of men to become his Profelytes: but it seems much more natural and agreeable to the Sense of the Words, to refer it to the former days; when he sent his Prophets among them. For the *sending the Prophets* and the *gathering the Children* are so plainly connected; that the Words can be no otherwise interpreted, than as follows. How often would I, even in former ages, have gathered your Children together into Safety; and to that purpose sent my Prophets among you; but you would not be gathered:

(*q*) *Deut.* xxxi. 10.



on the contrary you *killed my Prophets*, and stoned them that I sent unto you; and would not receive my Instructions. This is the plain Sense of the Words; in which Christ declares, that it was *He* who had sent the prophets among them; and consequently He was the same *Jehovah*, who had taken our Nation under his Protection, as the Lot of his Inheritance. On the contrary, we never hear that the *Messiah* ever *sent* or ever *was to send* any prophet among them; they were all sent by *Jehovah*. And though it may be always proper to understand what is said by an Angel or a Prophet, to be spoken by *Jehovah* himself; because he sends them, and they speak in his name, and as his Messengers: yet, it can never be said, that what is spoken by an Angel, or a Prophet, was spoken by *Christ*; if he was not the Visible *Jehovah*: nor can they be said to be sent *by him*. For they neither spake in *his* Name; nor *did he send* them.

But 2dly, *Christ* in this Lamentation declares to the *Jews*, that destruction would unavoidably happen to them; because they knew not the *time* of their *Visitation*(r). He had more than once expressed to *Moses*, in the Character of *Jehovah*, the most earnest desires; that our Nation would be *wise*, and consider it's *latter end*; which would be happy or un-

(r) *Deut.* v. 29. xxxii. 29, 30.

happy,



happy, according to it's behaviour: and had sent his Prophets to instruct them, and prevent their Ruin: but they not succeeding, the last and most extraordinary effort he made to the same purpose was by coming among them *himself*, and gathering them in his *own person*; of which he gave them Warning by his Prophets, that they might be ready to receive him. But so negligent were they even of these prophecies, and every thing that belonged to their peace and safety; that, when the visible *Jehovah* returned to visit them, according to his promise; to give them a new Covenant, and be *their God(s)*, and they should be *his people*; they *would not receive* this Covenant, nor *acknowledge* him, nor *be joined* to him; And therefore their house was left unto them desolate; “because they knew not the time of “their Visitation” [*τὸν καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς*, id est, hoc temporis punctum quo Deus ipse invisit(*t*).] In all this we see, that this *Visitation* of *Christ* was the same which is foretold by *Ezekiel* to be performed by *Jehovah*, who brought our fathers out of *Egypt*; and consequently, by the *Jehovah Angel*. In the 3d place, *Christ* declares to our Nation; that they should see him no more, till they should say; Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord(*u*): that is, till they should confess him to be the *Messiah*; [*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*]

(s) *Ezek.* xxxi. 31.(t) *Beza.*(u) *Matt.* xxiii.



which they should do, at his second Coming? But where do we find in our prophecies, that the *Messiah* will appear twice? this was a *Mystery*, i. e. not clearly revealed, to *Us*; and the ignorance of it led us into great Errors; which we should have been free from, if we had considered him as the *Angel Jehovah*. For the Salvation in the latter days was foretold to be by the *Jehovah*, who brought us out of Egypt. And *Joel* ii. 32, says, Whosoever shall call on the name of *Jehovah*, shall be delivered; for in Mount *Zion* and in *Jerusalem* shall be deliverance: and *Zech.* ii. 12, for *Jehovah* shall inherit *Judah*, his Portion in the holy land; and shall choose *Jerusalem* again; and *Moses* says, [*Deut.* iv. 30.] even in the latter days, if we return unto *Jehovah* and obey his voice, he will not forsake nor destroy us; nor forsake his Covenant made unto our Fathers. Now this Text of *Joel* is quoted both by *Peter* and *Paul*, which declares Salvation to all that call on *Jehovah*: and *Paul* goes farther, and tells us; all *Israel* shall be saved, if they continue not in unbelief; when the *Deliverer* shall come out of *Zion*(x). But the *Deliverer* out of *Zion* is the *Jehovah* of *Zion*: and the not continuing in unbelief is the confessing *Christ* to be ὁ ἐρχόμενος, the King that cometh in the name of the Lord(y). From all which it plainly appears, that *Christ*

(x) *Ro.* xi. 26.(y) *Is.* xxv. 8, 9.

discovers



discovers himself to be the person who sent the Prophets; i. e. the *Jehovah Angel*: the *Jehovah* who was to visit us and bring in a new Covenant, prophecied of by *Jer.* xxxi. 31, &c. that is, the *Messiah* and the *Saviour* at the *Latter* days, *that cometh in the Name of the Lord*; or the *Jehovah* of *Zion*. So that, according to *Christ* himself, he was the Superintendent over us from the beginning; and will continue to be so till the End of all things.

And from these Observations upon the words of the Scripture these two Truths appear to me extremely evident.

First, that *Jesus* and his Disciples *knew him* to be the *Angel-Jehovah*; and *revealed it sufficiently* to all such as would examine, and honestly attend to what they said upon the Subject; and to those who would not, “the things which pertained to their peace were hidden from their eyes.”

Secondly, it appears; that Almighty God has from the beginning carried on the Government of the World, by the Ministration of *one* and the *same* Person; who hath appeared under *different appellations*, according to the *different dispensations* in which he was employed; and the *different Characters* he bare. And this is the same person, who chose *Judah* for his Inheritance; and hath from the days of *Abraham* been more particularly engaged, by himself or his Angels,



Angels, in the Care and Protection of *our* Nation; and even in the latter days will continue to be so, till he hath performed the promise; that in *Abraham's Seed* shall all the families of the Earth be blessed: And the Completion of this Prophecy constitutes the Christian Religion!

I shall end this Letter, with five Rules to direct us, when we are certainly to understand the Word *God* or *Jehovah* in the *Old Testament* to signify the *Jehovah Angel*, or *Angel* of the *Covenant*.

1. Whenever we read of *God coming from God*, *sent and commissioned by him*, *receiving authority and Power from him*; *upheld and strengthened by him in his office and work*: in all such passages the *Lord* there spoken-of is plainly intended to be the *Son of God* coming from the *Father*.

2. When we read of *God visibly appearing unto men in person*, *present with them*, *coming to judge the Earth*; (i. e. to *instruct* men by his *Doctrine*;) *giving-out his Laws and Ordinances*, *setting-up a new Kingdom and Government over them by his Authority*; *this Lord* is the *Son of God*, at whose presence the Earth is said to tremble, and the hills to melt like wax; to signify *his Majesty*, who should command all Nature; and whom all Men should reverence and fear.

3. When



3. When we read of God, whom *Sion* and *Judab* should *behold*, and rejoice at his *coming* and *presence*, and be glad because of his *Laws*; such passages can be applied to none but the *Son* of God; and those who waited for *Redemption* and *Consolation* in *Israel*: when he should *visit* them according to his *promise*, and *make a new Covenant* with them; *Jer.* xxxi. 31. &c. and therefore it was truly prophesied of him (z); *Zion* heareth, and is glad; the daughters of *Jerusalem* rejoice, because of thy judgments, O God.

4. God *calling* the Nations of the World and the Multitude of the Isles to the Knowledge of himself, to be *his people* in covenant with him, is and can be *no other* than *Christ*. For many ages He was *known only* in *Sion*, his name was *great* in *Judab*, he *ruled* in *Israel*, as their *Lord* and *King*; whilst all other Nations and People lived as without God in the World. But the most ancient prophecies foretold, that it should not be always so: But to *Him* all the Nations of the Earth should be gathered; and the utmost ends of the Earth be *his possession*(a). Therefore when it is said, “*Jehovah reigneth* (b); let the Earth rejoice, and the Multitude of the Isles be glad at the *presence* of the *Lord of the whole Earth* (c); the Heavens shall declare his Righ-

(z) *Pf.* xcvii. 8.(a) *Jer.* iii. 7.(b) *Pf.* ii. 8.(c) *Pf.* xcvii. 1. 6.



teousness, and all the people *see his Glory* ;” this can be understood of *no other* but the *Son of God coming* in his Kingdom.

5. When we read of God’s *Enemies* rising up against him, and his *consuming* them by the most terrible Vengeance, and with fiery indignation and wrath ; such things are to be understood of the *Son of God incarnate*, whom his wicked Enemies did hate and persecute with all manner of Indignity and rage ; and of *His* destruction of them. God the *Father* never *was*, nor *could be* exposed to suffer by the Violence and Fury of men ; his enemies and adversaries *never could* afflict and wound *him* ; but only in the *person* of his *Son*. And never did God avenge innocent blood shed by wicked hands, with more exemplary Vengeance on his Enemies ; than in the Destruction of the *Jewish Nation*, already passed (*d*) : or will in a more dreadful Destruction revenge himself in their *defence* hereafter, when their enemies shall be *gathered together* against them in the latter days. Of which dreadful Slaughter we read, *Ezek. xxxviii. xxxix (e)* : where it is described as a great Sacrifice : and in the Revelation of St. *John* it is described as the *Supper* of the great God, *xix. 17.* and the *Gathering* of his *Vintage*, *xiv. 18.* and the *Battle* of

(*d*) *Moses’s Song. Ex. xv. Is. xlii. 25.* (*e*) *Is. lxvi 15, 16.*



the great day ; xvi. 14. All these things therefore relate to the Reign of *Messiah* the *Prince*, and his Conquests over his Enemies ; before the Kingdoms of the Earth shall become the Kingdoms of the *Lord*, and of his CHRIST.



## P O S T S C R I P T

T O

## THE SECOND LETTER.

**T**HE Opinion, which ascribeth to the *Logos* or *Word*, the delivery of the Law; is objected-to by the learned *Grotius*, as a grievous Error; in his Notes on the Decalogue: and he offers two Reasons; which are answered by Archbishop *Tenison*, in his discourse of Idolatry: P. 333.

The 1st Objection is founded on *Heb. i. 1.* “God, who at sundry times, and in diverse manners, spake in time past unto the Fathers by the *Prophets*; hath, in these last Days, spoken unto Us by his *Son*”——From hence it is argued; that God did not speak to us, by his *Son*, before the last Days.

Now



Now the plain obvious sense of these Words appears to me to be this: God formerly spake to our Fathers, [*i. e.* to the *Jewish* Nation] by the mediation or ministration of the *Prophets*; but now speaks to Us, *by the Son himself*; without any such mediation.

The historical Truth, upon which the Apostle founds his Argument, is this; that God used in times past to speak to the Fathers, by the mediation of *Moses*, or other *Prophets*; but in the time of the *Christian* Oeconomy he spake to us by *Christ* in Person.

The question is not, how God revealed himself to the *Prophets*; but how he revealed himself to the *Fathers*. And we know, he revealed himself to the *Fathers*, by the *Prophets*; who were of like station and quality with themselves. “*Revera enim erat Dominus per Mosem Pædagogus veteris Populi; per Seipsum autem novi Dux, facie ad faciem (a).*” The *Lord* was the Instructor of the ancient People, by *Moses*; but the Leader of the new People by *Himself*, face to face: and from hence the Apostle justly concludes, that we ought to give greater heed to what is said by *Christ himself*, who is the *Son of God*; than to what is said by the *Prophets*: because he is *superior* to them.

The Apostle here uses the same Argument, which is made use of by *Christ*, in his Parable of

(a) Clem. Pæd. l. I. c. vii. p. 110, 111.



the Vineyard; where the Lord of the Vineyard, after having in vain sent several *Messengers* to the Husbandmen who occupied it, that he might receive the fruits of it; did at last send his *Son*: saying, They will reverence my *Son*(*b*). The Authority of *God* was certainly the *same*; whether revealed by Prophets, or Angels, or a Being superior to Angels: but yet the *superiority* of Character in the Person employed in the Message, shews manifestly the *greater Regard* that is expected to be paid to the Embassy; and the greater Importance of it. And all the Apostle's Arguments in this Chapter are founded upon this one *Principle*; and conclusive upon this one *Postulatum*. But it does by no means follow; when the Apostle says, God spake to us by *Prophets*; that he did not speak to us by his *Son*: (or by the *Jehovah Angel*, who inspired the *Prophets*;) because the Apostle's Argument regarded only the *immediate* Revealer of God's will; and not the Person, by whom the Prophets (who were the *immediate* Revelers of his will to us) were inspired.

We know for certain; that *God* spake to *Moses*, by the *Angel* of the *Covenant*. But if this Argument of *Grotius* proves, that Christ did not speak to the Fathers; because *God* spake to them by the *Prophets*: it will also prove, that the *Angel* of the *Covenant* did not speak to the

(*b*) *Mat.* xxii. 37.



Fathers; because God spake to them by the *Prophets*. If it exclude *Christ*; it will also exclude the *Angel* of the *Covenant*: but it does not exclude the *latter*; and therefore not the former. And consequently, they may be both the *same* Person; for any thing that appears to the contrary, from this Text.

The Apostle goes-on upon the same Principle to a second Argument; *viz.* That we ought to give more *earnest heed* to the *Gospel*, than to the *Law*: because the *Law* was given by *Angels*; but the *Gospel* by the *Lord*, who was *superior* to *Angels*. And from hence arises *Grotius*' second Argument; to prove, that the *Law* and the *Gospel* were not given by the same Person: because the *Law* was given by *Angels*; *i. e.* as *Grotius* explains it, by the Angel sustaining the Person of God, and many more such spirits making that glorious train; but the *Gospel* by the *Lord Jesus*, the Son of God(c).

And, this being the true State of the Case; it was necessary for the Apostle, in order to make good his Argument, to prove; that the *Lord*, who delivered the *Gospel*; was superior to the *Angel*, who gave the *Law*: which he accordingly does. But how does he undertake this proof? Not by shewing, that the *Lord*, who gave the *Gospel*, was a different person from the *Angel*,

(c) *Tenison* of Idolatry; p. 333.



who gave the *Law*; or superior to him, in his *metaphysical nature*; Nor by shewing, that he was *always* superior to him in Power, and Glory, and Character; which would have been the most *obvious* and *natural* arguments, if true: but he makes use of the very same Arguments, as if the Lord, who gave the *Gospel*, had been that very *Angel*, who gave the *Law*; and who was afterwards exalted to a higher Station and Character.

For the Apostle expresses the Character of the *Lord*, who delivered the *Gospel*, in such Terms; as particularly denote and characterize him to have been formerly the Angel of the Covenant. He calls him the *Son* of God; *by whom* God made the *Worlds*, or *Ages*(*d*); The brightness of his Glory, and the express image of his Person: [*Heb. i. 1.*] which expressions plainly refer us to the account which *Moses* gives us of the *Jehovah Angel*, who appeared [*ἐν μορφῇ Θεῆς*] in the *Form* of God, and is called the *Face* of God; [*εἶδος Θεῆς*] and the *Similitude* of God(*e*): and all

(*d*) Τὰς αἰῶνας ἐποίησεν, appointed the former Dispensations. See *Pyle*, on *Acts* ii. 26. Ἐποίησε, that is, κατέστησεν, says *Chrysostom*; hath appointed. Thus our Saviour ἐποίησε δώδεκα, made twelve; *i. e.* ordained; as we rightly render it. And the *LXX*, *Gen.* xli. 34. Let *Pharaoh* make or appoint Officers; agreeably to the *Hebrew*, הָשִׂא. Now God appointed the former Dispensations by the *Angel* of the Covenant.

(*e*) *Num.* xii. 8.

these



these Expressions were understood by the Jews of that age to be descriptive of the *Angel* who gave the Law; and of no other Person.

It was necessary therefore for the Apostle, in order to complete his Argument; which concludes, that *greater* heed should be given to the *Gospel*, than to the *Law*; to shew, that the *Lord*, who delivered the *Gospel*, was now *become superior* in *Character* to the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, who gave the *Law*; and accordingly he tells us, that he was anointed with the Oil of Gladness, above his Fellows; [*i. e.* above the Angels(*f*):] and it was, because he loved Righteousness, and hated Iniquity; that he was made or constituted the Heir of all things,

(*f*) Mr. *Pierce* observes; that “ μέτοχοι, Fellows, or  
 “ Partners, must here mean the Angels; or else the ci-  
 “ tation is nothing at all to the Author’s purpose;  
 “ which is, to shew his Superiority to the Angels. The  
 “ reason why the Angels are called his *Fellows*, or *Part-*  
 “ *ners*, must be fetched from what they were *before*, and  
 “ not what they were *after*, his being *anointed* or inau-  
 “ gurated. After his being anointed, they were no  
 “ longer his *Fellows*, but his *Subjects*; but, before it,  
 “ they were *Partners* or *Sharers* with him; in his Go-  
 “ vernment of the World: They presiding over their  
 “ respective Provinces, as He did over *Israel*. He was  
 “ anointed with the Oil of Gladness, *above* or *more than*  
 “ his Fellows; because *He* received such an Authority,  
 “ Dominion, or Kingdom, as was never conferred upon  
 “ any one of *Them*; *He* being then made Prince, not of  
 “ a small Province, but of the whole World.” *Pierce*  
 on *Heb.* i. 9.



*in the last days*; (for I understand the words *in the last days*, to relate to his being *made Heir* of all things, as well as to our being spoken to by him :) and that it was by *Inheritance*, (or by his being made Son and Heir of all things) when he came into this World in the Flesh(g),  
that

(g) “ That the same Person, who had been in the  
“ form of God, as being the *Shechinah*, or visible repre-  
“ sentation of God’s invisible Glory, and the declarer  
“ and executer of his will, under the Old Testament;  
“ did receive that dominion and power of Judgement,  
“ with which he is now invested; and was made *Heir*  
“ and *Judge* of all, after his Resurrection from the  
“ Dead; is clearly declared by St. Paul: who tells us,  
“ [*Philip. ii. 6, 7, 8, 9.*] that being in the form of  
“ God, [*ἐχ’ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο*] he did not claim to be [ho-  
“ noured] as God; [*ἀλλ’ ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε*] but emptied himself  
“ [of that glorious Form] &c. wherefore God hath highly  
“ exalted him, and given him a Name, &c. Exalted  
“ whom? was it not plainly that Person, who had been  
“ in the Form of God?—To the same purpose the  
“ Apostle again; God hath in these last days spoken to us by  
“ his Son; whom he hath appointed Heir of all things, by  
“ whom also he made the Worlds: [*αἰῶνας*] Heb. i. 2.  
“ Here most evidently the same Person, and no other,  
“ by whom God made the Worlds, is the Person whom he  
“ hath Now appointed Heir of all things; [verse 3.]  
“ Who being the brightness of his Glory, and the express  
“ image of his Person; WHEN he had of himself purged our  
“ Sins, sat down on the right-hand of the Majesty on High:  
“ THEN it was, that God said unto him; Thou art my  
“ Son, this day have I begotten Thee: [verse 5.] THEN it  
“ was, that God commanded, saying; Let all the Angels  
“ of God worship him: [verse 6.] THEN it was, that he  
“ said



that he obtained a more excellent Name than they. And having thus cleared his Argument from this obvious Objection; (*viz.* that *Christ* was superior to the Angel that gave the Law) not by denying the Fact, but by shewing that he was now *exalted* to a *higher Character*, *viz.* to be *Lord and Heir of all things*; he proceeds without farther obstruction to conclude, that the Dignity of his Person, as *Messiah* and *Son of God*, being superior to his Dignity and Character, as *Angel of the Covenant*; therefore we ought to give greater heed, &c. Chap. ii. 1.

And therefore I answer; It is true, that the *Angel of the Covenant*, who gave the *Law*; was *inferior* to *Christ*, who gave the *Gospel*: and yet he was the *same Being*. For the Apostle makes no comparison here between different *metaphysical Natures*; but between the different *Stations* and *Characters* of the *same Being*, at different *Times*; and between receiving a doctrine, from the Messenger or Angel of God; and from the Lord *himself*, whose Servants we are; under *both* which Characters the Apostle had just considered him:—1st, as an Angel; and 2dly, as

“ said unto the Son; Thy throne, O God, is for ever and  
 “ ever—Thou hast loved Righteousness—therefore God, even  
 “ thy God, hath anointed thee: [ver. 8, 9.] THEN it was,  
 “ that all Power was given unto him; in Heaven and Earth:  
 “ [Mat. xxviii. 18,] and that All things were put under  
 “ his Feet. [Eph. i. 22.]—The Quotation goes-on,  
 p. 84. Reply to Dr. Waterland’s Defence, 233.



one who had obtained a more excellent name. And the Reason the Apostle labours so much to shew the difference in their *Characters*, is; because there was no difference in their *Persons*: But the same Person, who is spoken-of as an *Angel*, under the *Old Testament*; is spoken-of as *Messiah* the *Prince*(*b*), in the *New*: when he was made both Lord and Christ, a Prince and a Saviour(*i*); and had all things given into his hand(*k*). And the Apostle's Argument is equally conclusive; whether he argues, that we ought to give the more earnest heed to the things which we have heard; because they are revealed by a *different* Being, of a superior Character; or, because they are revealed by the *same* Being, after being exalted to a superior Character.

Archbishop *Tenison* says; “ God *formerly*  
 “ spake by his Son, as the *Logos*, or Minister;  
 “ and in the *latter* times by him, as his *Son* in-  
 “ carnate; or begotten by the holy Ghost of  
 “ the Substance of the Virgin *Mary*.—The  
 “ *Word* was God's Minister, before and under  
 “ the *Law*; but not in the same *Quality*, as  
 “ under the *Gospel*: and he considers it as pro-  
 “ per to distinguish between *Christ*, as God's  
 “ *Word* and *Shechinah*, under the *former* Cove-  
 “ nants; and as *Mediator* and God's *Son*,

(*b*) *Dan.* ix. 25.

(*i*) *Acts* v. 31.

(*k*) *John* iii. 35.

“ under



“under the *Gospel*:” And for the same opinion he quotes *Le Blanc’s Theological Theses*; who owneth Christ as the *Minister* of God, of Old; but not as *Mediator*. He was *then* the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; but when he came into the World, in the Character of the Son of Man, he was made both *Lord* and *Christ*(*l*).

An Argument, like to these which we are considering, is used by the same Author; [*Heb. xii. 25.*] “See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if *they* escaped not, who refused him that spake on *Earth*; much more shall not *we* escape, if we turn-away from him that speaketh from *Heaven*.” Here the Apostle draws the same Conclusion from superiority of *Place*, which the same Person speaks from; as he did before from superiority of *Dignity*, which the same Person was exalted to. For He who spake on the *Earth*, is the same Person, as He who spake from *Heaven*; and He who shook the *Earth*, [*ver. 26.*] the same as He who shook the *Heavens*. And the Argument is as conclusive, as if they were different Persons. “See that ye refuse not him that [*now*] speaketh; [*viz. the Son of God:*] for if *they* escaped not, who refused [*to hear*] him that spake on *Earth*; [*when he gave the Law, and spake but as an Angel and Messenger of the Father;*] much more shall not *we* escape, if we

(*l*) *Acts ii. 36.*



turn away from him that [now] speaketh from *Heaven*: [being now become the *Son* and *Heir*, and *Lord*, of all things; seated on the right-hand of God in the Heavens, and speaking and acting with an Authority of his *own*.]

The Apostle goes-on, [*Heb. ii. 5.*] to lay down another Reason, why we ought to give more earnest heed to the Words spoken by the Lord; because we are under *His immediate Government*: whereas, under the *Jewish Dispensation*, the Government of the World was carried-on by *Angels*. “For unto the Angels, says the Apostle, He (God) hath not put in subjection the World to come; *i. e.* the αἰὼν μέλλων the age of the *Messiah*, or the Gospel-Dispensation. And upon this is founded a third Objection by Dr. *Morgan*, in the Preface to his Collection of Tracts; as if it were implied, that the *Jewish State* was in subjection to *Angels*; and not to the *Son of Man*: so that the *Word* had no management over the *Jewish State*, till he became the *Son of Man*; and consequently he was not the *Jehovah Angel*.

To this the Answer already given is sufficient; that the *Jewish Dispensation* was carried-on by *Christ*, in the Character of the *Angel* of God; being then his Minister and Messenger: But God hath *now* given him the Kingdom, spoken-of by *Daniel*; and made him  
*Lord*



*Lord* and *Christ* (m): and he is now Κύριος, Lord, and Ἀρχηγός, Prince, in his *own Kingdom*; and in that Character he is considered as the Father of the Age to come, πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος (n).

Since therefore *Christ* hath plainly appeared in two very different Characters; sometimes as the *Angel of God*, when he appointed the several remarkable Periods of Time, under the *Antediluvian*, *Patriarchal*, and *Mosaic* Dispensations; and since that, as *Lord* and *King*, in his own Kingdom; There can no Argument be drawn from these different Characters, that the Angel *Jehovah*, and *Christ*, were two different Persons; since a difference of *Character* in the *same* Person, will equally serve the Apostle's argument.

Lastly, though *Grotius* denies the *Law* to be given by the same Person who gave the *Gospel*; yet he allows, that the *Logos* was present at the giving of the *Law*; (though another Angel gave it, *cui adfuerit ὁ λόγος* to whom the *Logos* was present) which entangles him in great difficulties. His words are these, on *Gal. iii. 19.* as quoted by Bp. *Bull*; agreeable to what I have already given from Archbishop *Tenison*. “*Il- lum, qui veterem Legem in Sinai promulgave- rit, Angelum quidem fuisse singularem; aliis Angelis stipatum: non vero merum Angelum; sed cui adfuerit ὁ λόγος(o).*” He, who gave the

(m) *Acts* v. 31.(n) *Isaiab* ix. 6.(o) *Bulli Op.* p. 10.  
old



*old Law in Sinai*, was indeed a *single Angel*, accompanied with other Angels ; Yet not a *mere Angel*, but one to whom the *Logos* was present.

Here it is supposed by *Grotius* ; that there were *many Angels*, at the giving of the Law ; in order to shew, that the Law was given by *Angels*—and that there was *One Angel* among them *superior* to the rest ; and He not a *mere Angel* ; because the *Logos* was present to *him*, by *whom* the Law was given(*p*).

Now, if the *Law* was given by *Angels*, because *Angels were present* ; then, for the same Reason, it was given by the *Logos* ; because *he was present* : and if so, the *Logos* who gave the *Law*, was the same Person as the *Logos* who gave the *Gospel*. And if the *Law cannot* be said to have been given by *Angels*, merely because *they* were present ; it was not given by them in *any* sense at all ; but only by that *one Angel* who is called *Jehovah* : for *he* only spake. And if he

(*p*) “ Mr. *Mede* conjectures, with great probability ;  
 “ that the notion of the *Jewish Doctors*, followed by St.  
 “ *Stephen*, and the Apostle [*Paul*] that the *Law* was given  
 “ by *Angels* ; had its beginning from a passage in *Deuteron*.  
 “ xxxiii. 2. The Lord came from *Sinai* unto them, and  
 “ rose up from *Seir* unto them : he shined-forth from Mount  
 “ *Paran*, &c. *Mede's Works*, p. 344. See also *Pf.* lxxviii.  
 “ 17. and it must be so understood : for it is no where said  
 “ expressly, in the books of *Moses* ; that the *Law* was gi-  
 “ ven by *Angels* : but it seems a *Tradition*.” See *Sykes*  
 on *Heb.* ii. 2.

was



was not an Angel; or, what is the same thing, a *mere* Angel; then the Law was not given, properly speaking, either by *one* mere Angel; or by *more*.

But let us hear, why that Angel was called *Jehovah*; and was not a *mere* Angel, as well as the rest: Non merum Angelum, says *Grotius*; sed cui adfuerit ὁ λόγος. He was not a *mere* Angel, because the *Logos* was *present* to him: but if that be a sufficient reason why he was not an *Angel*, or a *mere* Angel; then none of the rest could be *mere* Angels, by whom the *Logos* was *accompanied*; for he was present to them all.

To avoid this Consequence, the Favourers of this Opinion obscure themselves in the same kind of unintelligible terms; as the *Socinians* do: For, as the *Socinians* tell us, that *Christ* was a *mere* man; but a *God*, because God was *in him*, and acted *in him*: So we are told by Bp. *Bull*, *Grotius*, &c. that the *Logos* was *in the Angel*; per assistentiam nempe et præsentiam singularem: *i. e.* that it was an *Angel* who *took a Body*, and the Son of God was *in the Angel*(*q*). And to make his point good, 'tis strange to observe how Bp. *Bull* glosses upon *Clement Alexand.* who asserts the direct contrary, and says, λόγος ἄγγελος ἦν, the *Logos* was an Angel: Hoc est, says Bp. *Bull*

(*q*) *Bulli* Op. p. 9.



per Angelos apparuit: *he appeared by Angels*: which is a quite different sense; if it be any at all.

The plain Question is; *who* was it, that *spake* and *acted* at the giving of the Law? *the Angel*, to whom the *Logos* was present; or the *Logos himself*? If it was the Angel, to whom the *Logos* was present; then it makes no difference, as to its being a *mere Angel*; whether the *Logos* was in *him*, or no: for it will not make him an *uncreated Angel*, if he was *created*; or have any more effect upon his *metaphysical Nature*, as an Angel; than the Holy Ghost's inspiring the Apostles had upon their Natures as *Men*. And if it was the *Logos* himself, who *spake* and *acted*; (whether in the Angel, or not;) then it was the same Person who gave the Gospel.

When Archbishop *Tenison* speaks of the appearance of the *Logos*, he conceives it to be done by the Assumption of some principal Angel, upon the greatest and most solemn occasions, *without any vital or personal Union*; and by the Ministry of some other Spirits, together with an extraordinary Motion, sometimes in the Air, and thence in the Brain; and sometimes in the Brain only. And he conjectures the *Angel assumed*, to be *Michael*; whom the *Hebrews* call the *Prince of Faces*, or the *Prince of the Presence*(*r*).

(*r*) *Tenison* on Idol. p. 334.

But



But in the 1st place; what can we mean, by the *Assumption of an Angel*? We know what we mean, by assuming a *Body*; or by assuming a *Character*: but, when we speak of the *Logos*, as assuming the Angel, or the Person of an Angel, in any other sense; (and especially, if it be *without any vital or personal Union*;) we have no meaning to our words.

2dly, To what purpose is the *Logos* introduced; if the *Angel* could perform the whole *himself*, in a human Form? Or why is the Angel *Michael*, or any other introduced; if the *Logos* could do it? If the *Logos* appeared as a *Man*; he himself, without doubt, took upon him the *Form of a Man*; as he did at his *Incarnation*: and the introduction of *Michael* is unnecessary. But suppose he *did assume an Angel*; this Angel must assume a *human Form*, to become visible; and, if so, it would be the appearance of the *Angel* in the human Form; and not the appearance of the *Logos*: and accordingly, *Athanasius* says; he that appeared was an *Angel*: and so say *Jerom*, *Austin*, and *Gregory(s)*.

3. What Idea can men have to their words; when they say, the supreme *God* acts in the *Logos*, and the *Logos acts in the Angel*? There can be but *one* of these, who is properly, and physically, the *Agent*: the others, if concerned,

(s) *Bulli Op.* p. 10.



must be merely *instrumental*. And the Question is; whether this One, who acted, was the *supreme God*, or the *Logos*, or the *Angel*? It could not be the *supreme God*, who spake when the Law was given; because the Voice of the supreme God was never heard (*t*): and besides he that gave the Gospel, was his superior (*u*). It could not be a *mere Angel*; because he is called *Jehovah*: by which name *no other Angel* is called, but *He alone* in whom *Jehovah* put his Name: (as the ancient Fathers among the Christians justly argued :) It could therefore be no other than the *Logos*, before he was exalted; or the *Angel sustaining the Person of God*, whom *Grotius* supposes then present to some other Angel; *per assistentiam nempe et presentiam singularem*. But as his presence to another Angel would not make that Angel less a *mere Angel*, than he was before; it could be no other that spake, than the *Logos himself*.

I would farther observe here; that the Arguments used by St. *Austin* upon this subject, and quoted in *Platonism unveil'd*(*x*), to prove that *Christ* was not the *Jehovah Angel*, who gave the Law; are very defective: and *He* is the chief adversary to the Doctrine.

He thinks, it was *God* who spake in the *Angel*; and said, *I am that I am*, to *Moses*. And

(*t*) *John* v. 37.

(*u*) *Heb.* ii. 2.

(*x*) *Ch.* 22.



this was the opinion of *Athanasius* and *Jerom*. But, if this were true, how could it be said; the *voice of God* was never heard? *Abraham* certainly believed, the Words spoken to him were spoken by the *very Angel* that appeared to him; and so did *Jacob*.

To this it is answered; the *Lord* spake, when the *Prophet* spake; and *God* spake in the *Angel*. But this is not true, in the *literal* Sense; but only *figuratively*. For, though the *Prophet* and the *Angel* spake sometimes in the *Name* and *Person* of *God*, as his *Messengers*; and he ordered them what to say, and therefore they spake in the *First* Person; and so, in a figurative sense, *God* spake in them; as a *King* speaks in his *Ambassador*: yet they at other times spake in the *Third* Person: which is a demonstration, that they were not *Pipes*, through which *God* himself forcibly spake the Words; for then *All* must have been in the *First* Person(y). *Gregory* expresses himself much nearer the truth, when he says; the *Angel* is sometimes called an *Angel*, and sometimes *God*. “*Angelus, quod exterius loquendo serviebat: Dominus, quia interius præsiciens loquendi efficaciam ministrabat. Cum ergo loquens exterius ab interiori regitur; & per obsequium Angelus, & per inspirationem Dominus nominatur(z).*”

(y) *Hoadly's Tracts*, 1715, p. 263.  
 Prefat. in *Job*. cap 2. *Bull* 10.

(z) *Gregorius*



This was directly the case with the Prophets; and *Austin* himself at last understands it so: viz. that it was the *Angel* who spake, and not the *supreme God*: for putting to himself this Objection—Why do we read, *God* said unto *Moses*; and not the *Angel* said unto *Moses*? he replies; “though the *Angel* spake, the Word is ascribed to the Lord, who employed him; as we say, the Judge speaks, when the Cryer publishes; the Lord said, when the Prophet spake.” Thus it appears at last, that God did not speak in the *Angel* or *Prophet*; but they were inspired by God what to say, and spake in his name.

Another Argument of St. *Austin*’s, is as follows: “God, says he, appeared to *Abraham*, “in the Person of Three Men; who were, “without question, Three *Angels*; though “some imagine, that One of them was *Jesus Christ*. But if *Jesus Christ* is pretended to “be One of the Three, because *Abraham* addresses himself to One of them; why is it “not minded, that the *Third*, who staid with “*Abraham*, is called *Lord*? and One of the “other *Two*, who came to *Lot*, is called *Lord* “also in the singular number by the *Patriarch*; “when he makes answer to the *Lord*, who was “in the Two *Angels*? Therefore it is more “likely, that *Abraham* understood the *Lord* to “be



“ be in the *Three* Men; and that *Lot* thought  
“ him present in the *Two*(a).”

“ Here, says Mr. *Souverain*, we have a Key  
to understand the passages of the *New Testa-*  
*ment*; which speak of *Jesus Christ* as *God him-*  
*self*: We need say no more than this; that  
*Jesus* was a *Man*, as to Himself; and a *God*,  
with respect to *God dwelling in him*.”

But can any thing be more absurd; than to  
imagine, that *God* commanded *Christ* what he  
should say; (as *Christ* declares:) and then that  
*God* should say it himself, being literally in him,  
and making use of his *Organs*?

But in what sense is it supposed by *Austin*,  
that *God* existed in the three Men or Angels  
literally; in a manner different from his *Omnipresence*? Could he imagine the whole *Trinity* to be literally in each of them; or that the Father was in one, the Son in another, and the holy Ghost in the third? *Cyril of Alexandria* supposed this to be an Apparition of the *Trinity* in *Unity*; because three appeared, and *Abraham* spake as unto One(b). But, if this were the case, the *Trinity* was divided. And how the undivided *Trinity* could exist in the two that were left, after the third had ascended; is no less difficult to conceive.

(a) Aug. de Civitat. Dei Lib. 16, cap. 29. (b) Cyr.  
con. Jul. l. 1. p. 20. Tenison on Idol. p. 326.



The Words of *Christ* admit of no such *literal* meaning; when he says, *I am in the Father*; and *the Father in me*. *Believe the Works*, says he; [*i. e.* the Miracles which he wrought] *that ye may know and believe, that the Father is in Me, and I in Him*. [*John* x. 38.] The sense is; that his Works would prove him to be assisted by the Power of God, and to act by his Authority: whereas, if the Words are interpreted in a *literal* sense, the Argument is not conclusive: for the working Miracles was no more a proof of any *literal* Union or In-dwelling of God the Father, in his Son *Jesus Christ*; than it was of a *literal* Union between God and the *Apostles*: The power of God might have operated in the same miraculous manner, whether God was *literally* in *Christ*, or *not*. The words therefore are *figurative*; as when *Christ* prays, *that They* (his Disciples) *all may be One, as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee; that they* (the Disciples) *also may be One with us*. And, as *St. Paul* says(c); *Ye are all One in Christ Jesus*.

But to go-on with *St. Austin's* Argument. He says; "If *Jesus Christ* is pretended to be one of the three, because *Abraham* addresses himself to *one* of them, [whom he calls *Lord*]; why is it not minded, that the *third*, who stand with *Abraham*, is called *Lord*; and one of

(c) *Gal.* iii. 28. *Whitby's Last Thoughts*, p. 72, 64.  
the



the other two who came to *Lot*, is called *Lord* too; in the singular Number?"

In answer to this; it must be observed, and is very remarkable; that *Jehovah* appeared, [xviii. 1.] and *Jehovah* promised *Abraham* a Son, [14.] and *Jehovah* discoursed with *Abraham*, [17.] and *Jehovah* went away, when he had done speaking to *Abraham*, [33.] and the *Glory* of the Lord, or *Shechinah*, was lifted-up; as it is in the *Chaldee*: and when the other two Angels, who were left, speak of him who was lifted-up, they call him *Jehovah*: [xix. 13.] But the two who were left were not called *Jehovah*, but *Adonai*; [xix. 2.] and in the eighteenth verse, though it be *Keth.*, singular, in the *Greek*, it is in the *Hebrew* *Adonai*; as *Abraham* addressed himself to the three altogether: [xviii. 3.] and it does not appear, that *Abraham* believed *Jehovah* to be in either of the two who staid, or that either of them was *Jehovah*; for he calls neither of them by that Name: [See *Heb.* xiii. 2.] much less reason have we to think, he believed *Jehovah* to be in all three; or that *Lot* believed him to be in two of them. And, if *Moses* had thought so, he would have called them all by the same Name; and not have distinguished them so precisely, by calling the one *Jehovah*, and the others *Adonai*.

Bishop



Bishop Clayton seems to be no less mistaken, in his *Essay on Spirit(d)*, when he says; “It  
 “ was one of those who appeared, that is called  
 “ *Jehovah*, who rained upon *Sodom* and *Gomor-*  
 “ *rha* Brimstone and Fire, from *Jehovah* out  
 “ of Heaven.” It seems rather to have been  
 the *Jehovah*, who had just left *Abraham*, and  
 was lifted-up; or *Jehovah* in Heaven might  
 have rained it from *himself*. The repetition of  
 the Noun, instead of the Pronoun, is not with-  
 out precedent(e).

(d) P. 56. (e) Gen. i. 27. II. Chron. vii. 2.  
 Ps. l. 22, 23. John iii. 14 to 19. Luke xviii. 8. See  
 page 247.

### END OF THE SECOND LETTER.



---

---

---

---

## LETTER THE THIRD.

---

*Jesum Christum*, hoc est, eum qui postea *Jes. Christus* dictus est, ante suam *ἐνανθρώπησιν*, five ex beatissima Virgine secundum carnem nativitatem, in natura alterâ, humana longe excellentiori, extitisse; sanctis viris, velut in præludium incarnationis suæ, apparuisse; Ecclesiæ, quam olim sanguine suo redempturus esset, semper præfuisse ac prospexisse; adeoque a primordio omnem ordinem divinæ dispositionis (ut *Tertullianus* loquitur) per ipsum decucurrisse; quin et ante jacti mundi fundamenta Deo Patri suo adfuisse, perque ipsum condita fuisse hæc universa; Catholici Doctores trium primorum sæculorum, uno omnes ore docuerunt.

BULLI Opera, Sect. i.

---

**I**N my last Letter I laid it down to be proved that God created the World by the *Angel Jehovah*; who is called the *Word* of God: and hath from the beginning carried-on the Government of it, and will finally complete the great End for which it was made, by the mini-

X x

stration



stration of the same Person and Angel; who appeared to our Fathers by the Name of *Jehovah*. And this I proposed to consider and prove; First, from the Reason and Probability of the thing itself; 2dly, from the Words of Scripture; and 3dly, from the Interpretation of Scripture, by the most ancient Commentators and Men of Learning, among the *Jews* and *Christians*; both ancient and modern. The two first of these Proofs I have already compleated; and the third shall be the Subject of this third Letter.

The most ancient Interpretation of our Scriptures is the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, or Targum of *Onkelos*; written, as it is probable, before the *Christian* Æra (a): in which it is very remarkable, that the Author (though his Book is rather a Version, than a Paraphrase;) has thought proper to explain the word *Jehovah*, in many places; (that is, wherever it appeared plainly to signify the *Jehovah* Angel) by the words *Mimara Jehovah*, the Word of *Jehovah* (b): which directly answers to the word *Logos*, used by St. *John* and the other Apostles of *Christ*, to de-

(a) See *Prideaux* Connec. vol. III. b. 8. "I reckon them both [the Targums of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*,] to have been composed before our Saviour's time; and the Targum of *Onkelos* to be the ancients of the two." For which he gives his reasons; p. 543.

(b) *Bulli* Op. p. 14.



scribe that Person by whom God made the World: and the same Words are also used by [*Jonathan*] the *Jerusalem* Paraphrast(c).

But this argument will appear in the stronger light, if we compare the verbal Translation of the Original *Hebrew* with that of the Paraphrase in the *Targums*(d).

The

(c) “ Some Criticks, says Dr. *Allix*, believe our Saviour does cite *Jonathan*’s Paraphrase, *Luke* iv. 18. in quoting the Text *Is.* lxi. 1. Thus much, at least, may be said for it; that all there cited does agree better with the *Targum*, than with the Original Text, p. 15.—It seems most likely, says Dr. *Prideaux*; they were read out of some *Chaldee* Targum, which was made use of in that Synagogue: and when *Christ* cried out; *Eli, Eli, lamab sabaethani*; *Mat.* xxvii. 46. he quoted not out of the *Hebrew* Text, but out of the *Chaldee* Paraphrase: for in the *Hebrew* Text is *Eli, Eli, lamab Azabtani*: the word *Sabaethani* is no where to be found, but in the *Chaldee* Tongue, p. 547. *Allix*; 85 to 91.

(d) H E B R E W Text trans- C H A L D E E Paraphrase of  
lated. O N K E L O translated.

*Gen.* xxviii. 20. And *Jacob* vowed a vow, saying; If God will be with me, &c. then shall *Jehovah* be my God. *Gen.* xxviii. 20. — If the *Word of Jehovah* be with me, then shall the *Word of Jehovah* be my God.

*Ex.* xvi. 8. Your murmurings are not against us; but against *Jehovah*. *Ex.* xvi. 8. Your murmurings are not against us; but against the *Word of Jehovah*.

*Ex.* xix. 17. And *Moses* brought forth the people out of the Camp, to meet with *Jehovah*. *Ex.* xix. 17. — to meet the *Word of Jehovah*.



The *Jerusalem Targum of Jonathan* is another of our ancient Paraphrases; though not so old  
as

*Lev. xx. 23.* Ye shall not walk in the Manners of the Nations which I cast-out before you: for they committed all these things; therefore I abhorred them.

*Lev. xxvi. 46.* These are the Statutes and Judgments, and Laws, which *Jehovah* made.

*Numb. xi. 20.* Because that ye have despised *Jehovah*, which is among you.

*Numb. xxiii. 21.* *Jehovah* his God is with him; and the Shout of a King is among them.

*Deut. xx. 1.* Be not afraid of them; for *Jehovah* thy God is with thee, which brought thee up out of the Land of *Egypt*.

*Deut. i. 30.* *Jehovah* your God, which goeth before you; he shall fight for you.

*Deut. ii. 7.* These forty years, *Jehovah* thy God hath been with thee.

*Lev. xx. 23.* —therefore *my Word* abhorred them.

*Lev. xxvi. 46.* — which the *Word of Jehovah* made.

*Numb. xi. 20.* — despised the *Word of Jehovah*, whose *Shechinah* dwelleth among you.

*Numb. xxii. 21.* The *Word of Jehovah* their God is with them; and the *Shechinah*, or divine presence of their King is among them.

*Deut. xx. 1.* — for *Jehovah* thy God, his *Word* is for thee.

*Deut. i. 30.* *Jehovah* your God, which goeth before you; his *Word* shall fight for you, &c. And so, *Deut. iii. 22.*

*Deut. ii. 7.* — the *Word of Jehovah* thy God hath been with thee.

*Deut.*



as that of *Onkelos*: [according to Dr. *Prideaux*:] which explains this Doctrine in the same manner(e).

These

*Deut. iv. 24.* For *Jehovah* thy God is a consuming Fire.

*Deut. i. 31.* Yet in this thing ye did not believe *Jehovah* your God.

*Deut. iv. 37.* He brought thee out in his Sight, with his mighty power.

*Deut. v. 5.* I stood between *Jehovah* and you, at that time.

*Deut. ix. 3.* *Jehovah* thy God is he that goeth before thee [as] a consuming Fire.

*Deut. xxxi. 6.* *Jehovah* thy God, he it is that goeth with thee.

*Deut. xxi. 8.* And *Jehovah* he it is that goeth before thee; he will be with thee.

(e) HEBREW Text.

*Gen. i. 27.* *Jehovah* created man in his own image.

*Gen. iii. 9.* And *Jehovah* God called unto *Adam*.

*Gen. iii. 22.* And *Jehovah* God said, Behold the man is become as one of us.

*Deut. iv. 24.* For *Jehovah* thy God, his Word is a consuming Fire.

*Deut. i. 31.* — ye did not believe the Word of *Jehovah* your God.

*Deut. iv. 37.* He brought thee forth by his Word, &c.

*Deut. v. 5.* I stood between his Word *Jehovah* and you.

*Deut. ix. 3.* *Jehovah* thy God, &c. his Word is a consuming Fire.

*Deut. xxxi. 6.* *Jehovah* thy God, his Word goeth before thee.

*Deut. xxi. 8.* And *Jehovah* he it is that goeth before thee; his Word will be with thee.

JERUSALEM Paraphrase.

*Gen. i. 27.* And the Word of *Jehovah* created man.

*Gen. iii. 9.* And the Word of *Jehovah* called *Adam*.

*Gen. iii. 22.* And the Word of *Jehovah* said, Behold, &c.

*Gen.*



These few quotations from the *Targums*, when compared with the original *Hebrew*, are sufficient to shew; that the *Jehovah*, who appeared to our Fathers, was the *Word* of *Jehovah*; according to the Opinion of these ancient Writers: that is, he was the same Person who made the World, and who is called, by the Apostles, the *Logos*, or *Word* of God.

From hence, and from the Language of other *Hebrews* upon this Subject, *Rittangelius*, the Annotator upon the Book *Jezirah*, concludes; that the most learned and ancient of the *Hebrew*

*Gen. xviii. 1.* And *Jehovah* God appeared to him in the plains of *Mamre*.

*Gen. xix. 24.* Then *Jehovah* rained upon *Sodom* and *Gormorrha*, brimstone, &c.

*Gen. xxi. 33.* And *Abraham* planted a grove in *Beer-sheba*, and called there on the name of *Jehovah*, the everlasting God.

*Gen. xxii. 14.* And *Abraham* called the name of that place *Jehovah-Fireh*.

*Gen. xxxv. 9.* And God *Jehovah* appeared to *Jacob* again, when he came out of *Padan Aram*; and blessed him.

*Gen. xviii. 1.* And the *Word* of *Jehovah* God was revealed, &c.

*Gen. xix. 24.* And the *Word* of *Jehovah* God rained fire and brimstone, violently, &c.

*Gen. xxi. 33.* And *Abraham* confessed and prayed in the name of the *Word* of *Jehovah* the everlasting God.

*Gen. xxii. 14.* And *Abraham* deprecated in the name *Verbi ejus Jehovahæ*.

*Gen. xxxv. 9.* And the *Word* of *Jehovah* blessed them; and the *Word* of *Jehovah* said unto them, Increase and multiply.

Divines



Divines from the days of *Abraham*, as the Writings of the modern *Jews* do testify, have used the Term *Mimara*, [the *Word*,] and their Posterity also, for some thousand years, in their Synagogues; as a common Term(*f*).

It has been objected to this Opinion; that the same word *Mimara* is used by the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts to explain the *Hebrew* word *Dabar*, *Speech* or *Discourse*; but this *Rittangelius* absolutely denies. And Dr. *Allix* observes also of the word *Rithgama*, [*Matter* or *Discourse*, as *ῥήμα* signifies in the *Greek*] that the *Targums* always distinguish it from *Mimara*. P. 183.

But when *Rittangelius* asserts; that the word *Mimara* is never used, except *de secundo in Deitate subsistendi modo*; by which he means the *Logos*—I presume, he ought to have said; they never used it, but when they imagined that the *Logos* was the Person meant in the Text; in which they might be sometimes mistaken: as

(*f*) Patere hinc quoque universis & singulis sacræ paginæ addictis absque dubio censeo; antiquissimos et doctissimos Hebræorum Theologos ab *Abrahami* tempore, ut recentiorum Hebræorum libri testantur, hunc terminum מִמָּרָא (quod *Verbum* Latine interpretamur) & posteros etiam aliquot millibus annorum in Synagogis pro communi termino usurpasse; quod tam ex paraphrasibus *Chaldaicis* *Onkelos*, *Jonathan* filii *Uzielis*, *Jerusalem* veteris Testamenti, quam ex aliorum Antiquorum Rabinorum scriptis & fragmentis manifestum est. Lib. *Jezirah* a *Rittangelio*. *Amst.* 1642. p. 97.

when



when they use the word in, *Isaiab* xlii. 1. (where it is said of *Messiah*, by God the Father; “my Elect, in whom *my Word* delighteth;”) *Imagining*, as it seems, that the *Elect* here spoken of was sent by the Angel of *Jehovah*, as other Prophets were; and not knowing, that it was the *very Angel himself*.—And so in other places Men may differ and mistake which of the two is spoken-of; the Sender, or the Sent; as they are both called by the same name, *Jehovah*, in the Original. But, when the *Jehovah* actually appears, and personally speaks; there can be no mistake. Had they understood the Prophecy of *Malachi* iii. 1. that the *Messiah* was the *Mimara Jehovah*, or the Angel of the Covenant; ’tis probable they would not have translated this passage of *Isaiab*, as they have done: but of the *invisible Jehovah* delighting in his *Word*.

Mr. *Souverain*, the supposed Author of *Platonism Unveil’d*, speaking of these Paraphrasts, says; “These Paraphrasts, by the *Word*, designed only the *Angel*, who bare the name of “*God*; and who spake in his stead; this Term “being peculiarly appropriated to *Messengers* “and Interpreters. We likewise see the Author of the Book of *Wisdom* did thus call “the *destroying Angel*(g), sent to kill the first- “born of *Egypt*; because he was intrusted

(g) *Wisdom* xviii. 15.

“ with



“ with the Command of God therein, and the Execution of it.” Mr. *Souverain* judges here very justly; that the *Word* of God is a *Person*; the *Angel*, in whom God put his Name: but he does not seem aware, that there is but *One such Angel* that we read of(*b*). And had He considered *this Angel* to be the *same Person*, who afterwards took *Flesh*; and *these appearances* to be, as Bishop *Bull* calls them, *præludia & figuræ futuræ Incarnationis*; he would have had a plain scheme before him, free from the difficulties of the other *Socinians*.

On the other hand, a Writer in the *Unitarian Tracts*(*i*), says; “ I do not perceive, that any of Bishop *Bull*’s Citations out of these Paraphrases speak of the *Word* as a *Person*; but only as the *Energy* or *Power* of God.” In answer to this, I should think it sufficient merely to refer to two of the Bishop’s Citations(*k*): the first from *Gen. xx. 3. Et venit Verbum a facie Dei ad Abimelech*; and the *Lord* came from the Face of God to *Abimelech*: and the other

(*b*) See Euseb. Eccles. Hist. B. i. ch. 2. Neither is it lawful once to surmise that the apparitions of *God* in the Scripture, if at any time any of them appeared unto Men, may be attributed to the inferior Angels and Ministers of God: for neither doth the Scripture if any of them at any time appeared unto men conceal the same; expressly saying, not that *God* or the *Lord*, but that *Angels* spake, &c.

(*i*) Vol. III. Tr. vii. p. 61.

(*k*) *Bulli Op.* p. 14.

Y y

Pf.



*Pf. cx. 1. Dixit Dominus Verbo suo, sede a dextris meis*; The Lord said to his *Word*, Sit thou on my right hand. However, Dr. *Allix* observes; the *personal* Characters of Action, of Commanding, of Answering, of giving Laws, of issuing-out Decrees, of being Prayed-to, of receiving Worship, and the like; are so expressly given in the *Chaldee* Paraphrases to that *Word* we now treat-of; as render it absurd to take it for any thing else but a *Person*(1).

(1) *Allix*, p. 191. The Paraphrasts make it the *Word* of the Lord, that appeared to the Ancients, under the name of the *Angel* of the Lord. P. 183.

It was the *Word* of the Lord, that saved *Noah*, and made a Covenant with him, and shut the door of the Ark.

The *Word* appeared to *Abraham*, by the name of the *God of Heaven*; and slew the first-born of *Egypt*. *Jerus. Targ.* on *Ex. xi. 3.*

It was the *Word*, which talked with *Moses* in the Tabernacle; and whose appearance was promised to pass before him, in *Ex. xxxiii. 19.*

The *Jerusalem Targum* on *Deut. xxvi. 17.* says; You have made the *Word* of the Lord King over you this day, that he may be your Glory: and, [verse 18.] the *Word* of the Lord is become King over you *in his own Name*, as over his beloved and peculiar People. 224.

Lastly, to mention no more; the Targum of *Jonathan* on *Pf. cx. 1.* is thus paraphrased: And the Lord said to his *Word*, Sit thou on my right-hand; which could not be said possibly of any but a *Person*, nor could it be said of the Father. See *Bulli Op.* p. 14.

From



From these and many other Texts, quoted by Dr. *Allix* to the same purpose, he concludes: "In short, the ancient Church considered the *Word* as being the Sovereign Lord and King of the *Jewish* People<sup>(m)</sup>; and a different Person from the Father:" And Bishop *Pearson* says; "I conceive the *Chaldee* Paraphrases to represent the sense of the *Jews* of that Age; as being their public Interpretation of the Scripture: wherefore, what we find frequent in it, we cannot but think the Vulgar and General Opinion of that Nation." And he informs us; that, "what the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts call *Mimara*, *Verbum*; the *Hebrewists* named *Logos*: as appears by *Philo* the *Jew*; who wrote before St. *John*."

And St. *Jerom*, on *Ezek.* i. 24. notes; that the *Greek* interpreters sometimes render God's name (*El Shaddai*, God Almighty, by *Logos*; and so it was understood by *Onkelos*; who considered them as the same Person<sup>(n)</sup>. And Bishop *Pearson* says; "we are not to look upon *Philo* as a *Platonist*; but merely as a *Jew*, who refers his whole Doctrine of this *Logos*, to the first Chapter of *Genesis*. And the rest of the *Jews* before him, used the same notion; who had no such Knowledge out of *Plato's* School. And that *Celsus*, writing in the Person of a *Jew*,

(m) *Allix*, Judgm. of the Jew. Church, p. 239, 150, 120. (n) *Ibid.* 207.



acknowledges the *Word* is the *Son* of *God*; εἶγε ὁ λόγος ἐστὶν ὑμῖν υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπαινοῦμεν(ο). And though *Origen* objects, that in this *Celsus* makes the *Jew* speak improperly; because those which he converted did never acknowledge that *Son* of *God* was the *Word*: yet *Celsus's Jew* did speak the language of *Philo*. But between the time of *Celsus* and that of *Origen*, (I guess about sixty years) the *Jews* had learned to deny that Notion of the *Logos*; that they might with more colour reject *St. John*(p)."

Now the belief of *Philo* was this; First, the Father of the Universe(q); then, a second God(r), who is his *Word*; whom he calls the *true Word* of God, his first-begotten Son(s). He attributes the Crëation of the World to this *Logos*; whom he terms the *Instrument* of God, by whom the World was made(t): and says; the *Word* is the *Shadow* of God, whom he employed in making the World(u). Where we must observe; that *Philo* makes the *Logos* instrumental in the Crëation of the World, yet he taketh it not for a bare expression of the

(o) Orig. con. Cel. l. II.

(p) Pearson; p. 118.

(q) Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων.

(r) Δεύτερον Θεόν, ὅς ἐστιν ἐκείνου Λόγος. Quæst. & Sol.

(s) Ὁρθὸν Θεὸν Λόγον πρωτόγονον υἱόν. de Agric.

(t) Ὁργανον Θεοῦ δι' ὃ ὁ κόσμος κατασκευάζεται. de Flam. Glad.

(u) Σκιά δὲ Θεοῦ ὁ Λόγος αὐτῷ ἐστίν, ᾧ καθάπερ ὄργανῳ προσχρησάμενος ἐκοσμοποιεῖ, Alleg. l. ii.



*Will* of God; but for a *God*, though in the second degree; and exprefsly for the *Word* of God(*x*). He tells us, that the *Angel* who came to *Jacob* was the *Word*, the *Minister* of God(*y*); calling him the *Deputy*(*z*) of the great King; and fays, his Authority was not fupreme; but *subordinate*(*a*), and *inferior* to God; but *superior* to man(*b*): and calls him the *Image of God*(*c*), as *St. Paul* does; and his *Effigies* and *Character*, as *St. Paul* alfo does(*d*): this the *French* tranflate, *l'Empreinte de fa Perfonne*; which answers to another expreffion of *Philo's*, when he calls the Father σφραγίς(*e*) the original *Seal*, of which the eternal *Word* is the *Impreffion*: that he fits at the *Helm*, and governs all things(*f*): that *God*, as a *King* and

(*x*) *Pearson*.

(*y*) Ὑπηρετής τῷ Θεῷ Λόγος. de Nom. Met. p. 1058. *Jackson*; 396.

(*z*) Ὑπαρχον τῷ μεγάλῃ βασιλείῳ. de Som. & de Ag. l. ii.

(*a*) Οὐκ αὐτοκράτορος μὲν, ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἡγεμονίας. de Profug. p. 466.

(*b*) Μεθόριός τις Θεῷ φύσις, τῷ μὲν ἐλάττω, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ κρείττω. de Som. 11, 34.

(*c*) De Monar. & de Som. interdum ἀπεικόνισμα, ut lib. Pejorem infidiari meliori; & χαρακτήρ. ii. de Agri. ad Grot. de Ver. lib. v.

(*d*) Col. i. 15. Ἐικὼν τῷ Θεῷ ἀοράτῃ. Heb. xv. 1, 3. *Χαρακτήρ*.

(*e*) Σφραγίς ἧς ὁ χαρακτήρ ἐστὶν ὁ αἰδιος Λόγος. See *Pyle* on Heb. i.

(*f*) De Cherub. p. 80.

Shepherd,



Shepherd, rules according to Law and Right; and places over us his first-begotten Son: who as the *Pro-Rex* of the great King, takes care of the sacred Flock(*g*). He also calls him the *First-begotten* of the Father, before all Creatures(*h*); [agreeably to St. *Paul*, who calls him the *First-born* of the whole Creation(*i*); and to St. *John*, who calls him the *Beginning* of the Creation of God(*k*):] and the *First-begotten* Son, *Vicegerent* of the great King, the Angel or *Ambassador that hath the care of the Universe* (*l*); an *Archangel* (*m*): and he accounts the Voice to *Adam*, to *Abraham*, to *Jacob*, to *Moses* from the Bush, to be the effect of the *Logos* of God (*n*): and with respect to his rule over us, he styles him μεθόριος καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἡμῶν τῶν ἀτελῶν Θεός· a Mediator, and a High Priest, and a God, over us imperfect Creatures.

The Book of the Wisdom of *Solomon*, supposed by some to have been written by *Philo*; [Bishop *Bull* says, long before *Philo*(*o*)] speaks of the *Word* in the same manner; as the *Person*

(*g*) De Agricul. p. 152.

(*h*) Πρεσβυτάριος τῶν γένεσιν εἰληφάτων. See Prov. viii. 22. in the LXX.

(*i*) Col. i. 15. Πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως.

(*k*) Rev. iii. 14. ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τῶ Θεῷ.

(*l*) Lib. de *Herode* don. & Lib. de Confusione.

(*m*) In Alleg. & Lib. de Cherub. Grot. de ver. I. 5.

(*n*) De Vita *Mosis*; p. 394, 395.

(*o*) Defence of the Nic. Faith, 18.

who



who delivered the *Israelites* from *Egypt*, and brought the Plagues upon the *Egyptians* (p); *Grotius* also thinks this book is more ancient, and written under *Simon* the high Priest, who flourished under *Ptolemy Lagus*; but that the *Greek* was made by some *Christian*. But in answer to that bold conjecture, Dr. *Allix* observes, that the Book was among the *Jews* in *Chaldaic*, till the thirteenth Century; as appears by *Rambam's* preface to the *Pentateuch* (q): and they never objected such an Interpolation; but thought it worthy of *Solomon*, and probably *His*(r).

*R. Menahem*(s) allegeth from the ancient Rabbins, and brings the very words of the Authors which lived before him; that the *Angel* who appeared in the Bush, was *Michael* (t);  
and

(p) *Wisd.* xviii. 14, 15, 16.

(q) *Allix* on the Jewish Church.

(r) The passage which *Rambam* or *Moses Ben Nachman* quotes from the *Chaldee*, are Ch. vii. 5, 6, 7, and part of the 8th verse; and again, v. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21. from whence *Shikardus* proves against St. *Jerom*, that the *Greek* is not the original, but was translated out of the *Chaldee*. See *Jos. Mede* on II *Peter* iii. p. 614.

(s) Vide *Ainsworth*, ad loc.

(t) Abp. *Tenison* says; "it was the joint opinion of  
" *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, *Theodoret*, and the most learned  
" Archbishop of *Armagh*; [*Usher* in *Annal. Vet. Test.* p.  
" 21. Ed. *Par.*] that it was the *Logos*, who shewed him-  
" self to *Joshua* in the form of a Man; and called himself  
" the



and was the *Angel*, the *Redeemer*, who said to *Jacob*, *I am the God of Bethel*: this is he, of whom

“ the Captain of the Lord’s Host. But that a Fragment  
 “ of an ancient and venerable Scholion will have it to be  
 “ *Michael*; and not the very Son of God.” *Tenison on Idol.* p. 366.

But to this it may be answered; If the Author of this *Scholion* believed *Michael* to be the *Logos*, he was of the same opinion with the Fathers and Rabbins. See the opinion of *Eusebius* in the 2d. chap. of his *Eccles. Hist.* together with the *Scholion* here referred-to, with remarks upon it at the end of the Postscript to this Letter.

Mr. *Ainsworth*, on *Exod.* xiv. 19. says; this Angel, who went before the Camp of *Israel*, is *Christ*; called *Jehovah*, *Ex.* xiii. 21. And the *Hebrew* Doctors have acknowledged this Angel to be *Michael*; the great Prince, who was made a Wall of Fire between the *Israelites* and the *Egyptians*. *Pirke Eleezer*; ch. xlii. *David Kimchi* on *Hosea* xii. 4. says; this Angel was *Michael*; and on *Gen.* xlviii. 16. the Angel which redeemed me from all Evil: And, on *Gen.* xxxii. 24. Mr. *Ainsworth* says directly, *Michael* is *Christ* the Archangel; and quotes, for proof of it, *Dan.* x. 21.—*Jude* ix.—*Rev.* xii. 7. The Words of the Angel to *Daniel*, are these; there is none that holdeth with me in these things, but *Michael* your Prince: and he is described [xii. 1.] as the great Prince that standeth for the Children of the *Jewish* People.—St. *Jude* represents *Michael* to be the Archangel who contended about the Body of *Moses*: [verse 9.] and *Michael* is represented in the *Apocalypse*, as the Angel who with his Angels fought against the old Serpent, called the *Devil* and *Satan*; whom the Brethren overcame, by the Blood of the *Lamb*; [xii. 11.] and thereby brought on the Kingdom of God, and the power of his *Christ*: [verse 10.] all which seems to favour the opinion of our Rabbins.



whom it is said, the *Angel of the Presence* saved them. And on *Exod.* xxiii. 20, 21. where it is

*Rabbins.* But Mr. *Joseph Mede* objects; that the description of the Angel, given by *Daniel*; agrees with the description of *Christ*, given in the Revelation; [i. 13.] and from thence he argues; If *Christ* be *Michael*, why does he say, [*Dan.* x.] that *Michael*, one of the chief Princes, came to help him: and, [verse 21.] none holdeth with me, but *Michael* your Prince? Compare *Dan.* xii. 6, 7. with *Rev.* x. to verse 7.

But the Texts here referred-to by Mr. *Mede*, do not amount to a proof, that the Angel who spake to *Daniel*, [x. 5.] was *Michael*: It seems more probable to have been *Gabriel*; he being the Person that had all along explained the Revelation; [*Dan.* ix. 21—viii. 6.—x. 10.] upon which account he is called, by the *Persians*, the Angel of Revelation. *Sale's Koran*, ch. ii. p. 13. Note.—In confirmation that it was not *Michael* who spake to *Daniel*, I would observe farther; that there were *Two* anointed ones, that stood before the Face of the Lord of the whole Earth: [*Zech.* iv.] the one of which seems to be *Michael*; which standeth for the Children of *Israel*, and is declared to be one of the chief Princes; [*Dan.* x. 13.] and the other *Gabriel*, who declares himself also to be one that standeth in the Presence of God: [*Luke* i. 19.] and *Philo* says, it was a Type of this; that, at the building of the Tabernacle, God directed only *two* Cherubim to be placed over the Mercy-seat, in the Holy of Holies: [*Vita Mosis*; l. iii. p. 669.—*Essay on Spirit*, p. 75] And *Origen*, as we are told by *Jerom*, interpreted the two *Seraphim*, [*Is.* vi.] to be the Son and the Holy Ghost. Reply to Dr. *Waterland's* Defence, p. 329. And *Manasseth Ben Israel* supposed the Lord upon Earth, who rained Fire, to be the Angel *Gabriel*; [*Gen.* xix. 24.] but the Angel *Gabriel* is not called *Jehovah*; and



is said, I will send my *Angel*; *R. Menahem* teacheth, from the Ancient Rabbins; that *this Angel*,

the Lord, who rained Fire, was the same *Jehovah* that ascended.

Now as there are *Two* anointed ones, it is no wonder if they are both represented as appearing in great Glory; and therefore in many respects alike. But it must be observed; that the description of the Angel in the *Revelation* is only in *Vision*, and appropriates the Glory to *Christ*; for it is plain the Angel speaks in *his* Name, when he says; “ I am He that liveth and was dead, and have the Keys “ of Death and Hell:” and so he speaks, [*Rev. xi. 13.*] “ and I will give power to my *two* Witnesses.” And *Christ* declared to *John*, the Revelation which God had given to him; not in *Person*, but by his Angel in *Vision*: [*Rev. i. 1.*] and this Angel might be *Gabriel*. And, if this were the case, that the Angel described in *Daniel* was *Gabriel*; Mr. *Mede*’s Objection is of no force against the Opinion of our *Rabbins*, and many of the *Christians*; that *Christ* is the Arch-angel *Michael*. But I only mention this question by the way; it does not affect my Argument either way. ’Tis certain, the *Jews* generally held; that He, who is stiled the Captain of the Lord’s Host, [*Josh. v. 14.*] was the Angel *Michael*. And his office, says *Origen*, is to present the Prayers and Supplications of Men; and in the Book of the *Pastor* we read, says he; that *Christians*, as soon as they believe, are under the Government of *Michael*: the good Messenger, according to *Hermas*, being *Michael*; who hath the Government over his People: whence, by *Nicéphorus*, he is called the President or Overseer of the *Christian* Faith. *Whitby* on *Col. ii. 18.* And it was as ancient a Notion as *Cerinthus*; that He, who gave the *Law*, was one of the Angels who made the *World*. *Epiphanius* *Hær. 28, sect. i. p. 110.* And this is thought to have first given rise to the worship of Angels among the *Christians*.

Both



*Angel*, whom God sent before the *Israelites*; declaring, *my Name is in him*; is the *Angel* the Redeemer. And on *Exod. xiv. 19.* he says; the *Angel*, who went before the *Israelites*, was [*Shcheinab*] the *Presence of God*; and called an *Angel* and *Prince* of the World, because the Government of the World is in his hands(u). And on *Ex. xxxiii. 14.* where it is said, My *Presence* shall go with Thee; he explains this to be the *Angel* the Redeemer, as it is written in *Isaiab lxiii. 9. the Angel of his Presence saved them*: and in *Mal. iii. 1. the Angel of the Covenant, whom ye delight in.* And R. Samuel, in *Mecor Chaim*, calls him both *Angel* and *Jehovah*.

The Note of R. Moses Ben Nachman on *Gen. xlviii. 16(x).* is to the same purpose; and very remarkable. “The Redeeming *Angel* is he, that answered *Jacob* in the time of his Affliction; and who said to him, *I am the God of Bethel*; and he, of whom it is said, *my Name is in him.*” The like he has on *Ex. iii.* where the appearance in the Bush is mentioned: “This is he, of whom it is said; *God* called *Moses* out of the

Both *Theodoret* and *Jerom*, in their Comments on *Dan. xi. 21.* say; that *Michael* was the Arch-angel to whom was committed the care of the People of the *Jews*: and the Author of the *Recognitions*, that the Government of the *Jews* themselves, and the disposal of their affairs were by God committed to an Arch-angel. *Whitby* on *Heb. ii. 5.*

(u) *Pirke Eleez. 42. Ainsworth* on *Ex. xiv. 19.*

(x) *Grot. Not. ad lib. v. de Verit.*



Bush. He is called an *Angel*, because he governs the *World*; for it is written in one place, and *Jehovah* [that is, the *Lord God*] brought us out of *Egypt*; and in another place, he sent his *Angel*, and brought us out of *Egypt*; and again the *Angel* of his *Presence* saved them: viz. *that Angel*, who is the *Face of God*; of whom it is said, *my Face shall go before thee*: Lastly, *that Angel*, of whom the Prophet *Malachi* mentions; and the *Lord whom ye seek shall suddenly come to his Temple*; even the *Angel of the Covenant, whom ye desire.*" At length he adds; "the *Face of God* is *God himself*, as all Interpreters do acknowledge. But no one can rightly understand this, without being instructed in the *Mysteries of the Law.*"

The absurdity of supposing the *Angel of Jehovah* to be the *Jehovah himself*, whose *Angel* he is; I have shewn in my Second Letter: but that the *Angel of Jehovah* is (himself) *Jehovah*, is easily explained from the *Mysteries of the Law*; especially from *Ex. xxiii. 21.* where we are informed, that the *Angel of Jehovah* was to bear the Name of *Jehovah*; which is the proper Name of *God*: and shews us a sufficient Reason, why the *same Person* may be also called by any other Name of *God*: as *El Bethel*, or *El Shaddai*, or *Peniel*. It is manifest that the *self-existent Jehovah*, who put his Name on the *Jehovah Angel*; cannot be the *same Jehovah, on whom*



whom his Name was put : and it is the confounding these Ideas, that creates all the seeming Difficulty. If they be both the same, why are they ever distinguished as if different : and if they be not the same, why are they ever confounded ?

Among the Notions of the more Modern *Jews*, we must also observe ; that the *Cabbalists* believed *El Shaddai* to be the same Person as the Angel *Metatron*, whom they supposed to be the Instructor of *Moses*, and the *Messiah* ; *i. e.* as Dr. *Allix* expresses it, he was, according to the *Christian* Phrase, the *Logos* before his Incarnation ; or, according to the *Jewish* Phrase, the *Soul of the Messias* ; which they look-upon as something between God and the Angels, whom nothing separates from God(y).

Bishop *Pearson*, in proving by several Arguments, that *Christ* is called *Jehovah*, says :

(y) *Allix*, 456. *Calmet*, on the word *Metatron*, says ; Les Hebreux donnent ce Nom au premier des Anges ; à celui qui les conduisoit dans le Desert, et dont il est dit dans *Moyse*, “ Je vais envoyer mon Ange, qui marchera devant vous,” &c.—Il faisoit à l’égard des *Israelites*, ce que l’Officier nomme *Metator* faisoit chez les *Romains*. Il marquoit les Campemens, en traçoit la Forme, les Dimensions, l’Etendue.—On croit que c’est l’Archange *St. Michael* ; qui étoit à la tête du Peuple, dans le Desert : que c’est lui qui lutta contre *Jacob*, qui est appelé la Face de Dieu, dans *Exod.* xxxiv. 14. & qui est le Mediateur entre Dieu & les Hommes : qu’il écrit les bonnes Actions, & en tient un Registre.

“ The



“The *Jews* themselves acknowledge, that *Jehovah* shall be known clearly in the days of the *Messias*; and not only so, but that it is the Name which doth properly belong to him.” For the proof of which he quotes the Book *Sepher Ikkarim*; ii. 8. *The Scripture calleth the name of the Messias, Jehovah our Righteousness: and Midrash Tillim, on Ps. xxi. God calleth the Messias by his own Name; and his Name is Jehovah: as it is Ex. xv. 3. The Lord is a Man of War; Jehovah is his Name. And it is written of the Messias; [Jer. xxiii. 6.] And this is the Name which they shall call him; Jehovah our Righteousness. Thus Echa Rabbati; [Lam. i. 6.] What is the Name of the Messias? R. Abba said, Jehovah is his Name; as it is said, [Jer. xxiii. 6.] And this is the Name which they shall call him; Jehovah our Righteousness. The same he reports of Rabbi Levi. And the Bishop concludes; “the Rabbins then did acknowledge, that the Name *Jehovah* did belong to the *Messias*(z).” And accordingly *Grotius* says; the *Messias* is called the *Word of God*, by the *Chaldee Paraphrast*; as by *David*, *Isaias*, and others, he is called by that august Name of God, *Jehovah*; and also *Lord*: viz. *Elohim*, and *Adonai*; for so he explains himself in his Annotations: and adds this Observation; that the *Talmud* in *Taanith**

(z) *Pearson* on the Creed; p. 148.



faith, when the time shall come, spoken-of *Isaiab* xxv. 8, 9, *Jehovah* shall be shewn, as it were with the finger: that is; Men shall be able to point [or direct] others to him; saying, Lo! there is *Jehovah*(a).

And this Language, and Interpretation, of the Scripture by the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts, *Philo*, the ancient and modern *Rabbins*, and the Book of the Wisdom of *Solomon*; is entirely agreeable to the *New Testament*, and the Language of the *Apostles*; as explained by the most ancient Fathers of the *Christian Church*. And Mr. *Pyle*, says(b); “Whoever will compare the first Chapter of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and the beginning of St. *John*’s Gospel, and other Passages of the *New Testament*, with the numerous Expressions of *Philo Judæus*, concerning the Personal Character of him whom they all stile the *Word* or *Son* of *God*; will, I think, clearly perceive; that the Evangelic Writers did conform themselves to the well-known Language and Notion of that Time, in this matter.”

And, for a long time after this, the Fathers of the *Christian Church* explained these things in the very same manner.

*Irenæus* [who died a Martyr in 202,] says; “He (*God*) commanded, and they (all things)

(a) *Grot.* de Ver. l. V. c. xxi. and Bishop *Patrick*’s Preface to the Translation of it.

(b) on *Heb.* i. 1.

were



were created(c)—Now to whom did he give Commandment? even to his *Word*, who is our Lord *Jesus Christ*(d).” He tells us, in numberless places; that the Person, who appeared visibly under the Old Testament, and is stiled *God* and *Lord*; was not the *supreme God*, and Maker of all things; but the *Word*, his *Son*: who ministred to the Will of the *One God*, the Father and Maker of all things.

*Clemens Alexandrinus* [who died in 220,] says; “The *Son* is the *second Cause*, by whom all things are made according to the Will of the *Father*,” and he represents the *Father* as the supreme *Lord* of all things, and *Lord* of him who is the second Cause(e).

*Tertullian* [who died in 220,] says; the *Son* always appeared, and the *Son* always acted, *by the Authority and Will of the Father*; because the *Son* can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the *Father* do(f). And he from the beginning appeared to the Patriarchs and Prophets—but the *Father* was seen by no one—by whose Authority and Name, he, the *Son*, appeared and was *God*(g). No other *God* could converse with Mankind on Earth; except the *Word*, who is about to be made *Flesh*(h).

(c) *Pf.* xxxiii. 9.—II *Epist. Pet.* iii. 5.—*Heb.* xi. 3.  
 here it is Πῶμα. (d) *Iren.* lib. III. c. 8. (e) *Strom.*  
*Lib.* V. p. 598. (f) *Adv. Prax.* c. xv. (g) *Adv.*  
*Mar.* lib. c. xxvii. Reply to Waterland’s def. p. 145.  
 (h) *Bulli Op.* p. 11.



*Origen* [who died in 252,] says; “The *immediate Framer* of the Universe is the *Son* of God; but the *first* and *supreme God* is his *Father*(i)—The unbegotten gave his Command to the first-born of every Creature; and all things were created(k).” He observes, that the Term διὰ [by] denotes the *second Cause*; that all things were made, διὰ τῷ Λόγῳ but not, ὑπὸ τῷ Λόγῳ, as the original or *first Cause*(l); but by [ὑπὸ] one who is more excellent and greater than the *Word*: and who can this be, says he, but the *Father*(m)?

*Hippolitus* [who died in 230,] says; “the *Father* gives Command; and the *Word* performs it. The *Father* made things according to his own Will, and begat the *Word*; Ἐργάτην the Operator, Workman, or Builder of the things which were made(n).

*Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*, [who died about 182,] styles the *Word* the *ministerial Framer* of all things, which were made by God(o): and his Words to *Autolycus*, are very remarkable, to this purpose. “You will object,” says he; “that I teach, that God cannot be

(i) *Con Cels.* lib. VI. p. 308.

(k) *Ibid.* p. 61.

(l) *St. Paul* [I Cor. viii.] makes a similar distinction of ἐξ ἑ, to signify the *first Cause*; and δι’ αὐτοῦ, to signify the *efficient Cause*.

(m) *Comment on John*; p. 55, 56.

(n) *Contr. Noet.* p. 15.

(o) *Ad Autol.* p. 81, &

129, 130. *Jackson*; p. 142.



comprehended in any particular place; how then can I say, that *God* walked in Paradise? Hear the Answer I make to this Objection. The *God* and *Father* of all things is indeed *im-  
mense*, [ἄχωρητος] and not found in any *place*: [ἐν τόπῳ] But his *Word*, by which he made all things; representing the *Person* of the Father, and Lord of all; [ἀναλαμβάνων τὸ πρόσωπον] came into Paradise in the *Person* of *God*, and conversed with *Adam*; who is said to have heard the *Voice* of *God*, which is likewise his *Son*. And presently after, he adds; “ The *Word* therefore being *God*, and the *Son* of *God*; the Father of the Universe *sends* him, when it is his will so to do, unto any particular *place*; where, when he comes, he is both *heard* and *seen*; being *sent* by the Father; and he is found in that *place*.

This Interpretation is the Key to all the Accounts of *Jehovah's* Appearance and Conversation with Mankind: which in many places, upon any other Principle, are unintelligible in a *literal* Sense; and inconsistent with a *Vision*.

The Council of *Antioch*, about the year 213, declared; that *Christ* fulfilled the *Father's* Will, in appearing to the Patriarchs; being stiled sometimes an *Angel*, sometimes *Lord*, sometimes *God*. But it is impious, say they, to  
imagine;







*Hilary* [who died 367,] says; “The Angel of God spake to *Agar*: and he was both *God*, and *Angel* of God; and called an Angel, as being the Angel of the great Council; i. e. *Christ*; [μεγάλης βουλῆς Ἄγγελος, *Is.* vi. 6.] who is called an Angel of God(x).

*Ambrose* [born in 340,] says; “He is called both *Angel* and *God*; that he might not be thought to be He, of whom are all things; but He, by whom are all things(y).

*Cyril* [who died in 386,] says; “When the *Father* willed that all things should be formed, the *Son* formed them by the appointment of the *Father*; that so the original absolute supreme Authority (that is the signification of αὐθεντικὴ ἐξουσία) might be reserved to the *Father*; and at the same time the *Son* might have power over the things that He made(z).”

But I shall make the largest Quotations from *Justin Martyr*; as being more particularly addressed to our Nation, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*. “No Man, says he, who hath the least sense, will dare to say; that the *Maker*, and *Father* of the Universe left the supercelestial Mansions, and appeared here in a little part of the Earth(a).” Wherefore he argues with

(x) *Gal.* iv. 4. *Tenison* of Idol. 326. (y) *Ambr.*  
tom. X. p. 222. *Tenison* of Idol. 330. (z) *Cyril*,  
*Hier.* Cat. ii. Observations on Dr. *Waterland*'s second  
Defence, p. 7. (a) *Dial.* cum *Tryph.* p. 73. ed.  
*Gr.* 264, *Lond.* ed.



*Trypho*; “ that the *God* who spake to *Moses*, was not the Maker of the Universe; but was the same Person who had appeared to *Abraham*, &c. *ministring* to the Will of the Maker of the Universe; and who *ministred* also in like manner to his Will, at the Judgment of the *Sodomites*.” He tells him; that “ *God* appeared to them with two Angels sent along with him by *another*, who always abides in the supercelestial Mansions, and *never* appeared to any; whom, says he, we understand to be the Maker and Father of the Universe(*b*).” Hence he endeavours to convince *Trypho*; that, “ besides the Maker of the Universe, there is another, who IS (and in Scripture is called) *Lord God*: who is also called an *Angel*; because he carries Messages unto Men, according to the Will of the Maker of the Universe: besides whom there is no other God. The Scripture, says he, speaks of Two Persons in number; the One upon Earth, who descended to see the Cry of the *Sodomites*; the Other in Heaven, who is the Lord of that Lord who was upon Earth; as being his Father, and God, and the Cause of his Existence; even though he himself be potent, and Lord, and God: αἰτίος τε αὐτῷ τὸ εἶναι καὶ δυνάτω, καὶ Κυρίω, καὶ Θεῷ. the Cause that he exists and is powerful, and Lord and God. And so; when it is said, *Adam* is made as one

(*b*) Dial. cum *Tryph* p. 68.



of Us; it denotes *Number(c)*. And he declares; that this was *Jesus*, who appeared and conversed with *Moses* and *Abraham*, and the other Patriarchs; ministering to the Will of the Father(*d*).” And he reproves the *Jews*; for imagining it was the *Father* of the Universe, who always spake to *Moses*; “when indeed it was the *Son of God*, who is called an Angel or Messenger(*e*).”

Again; “when God says, *God* went up from *Abraham*; or the *Lord* spake unto *Moses*; and the *Lord* went down to see the Tower; &c. do not imagine, that the *unbegotten God* himself ascended, or descended: For the unspeakable Father and Lord of all things, neither goes nor walks any where—but abides in his place, wherever it is—never moving nor being comprehended in any place; no, not even by the whole World. How then should He speak to, or be heard by any One, or appear in a little Corner of the Earth; when the People of Mount *Sinai* were not able to behold the Glory even of *him* who was sent by Him?—Wherefore; neither *Abraham*, nor *Isaac*, nor *Jacob*, nor any other Man, ever saw *Him*; who is the Father and ineffable Lord of all things absolutely, even of *Christ* himself: but they saw *him*, who by the Will of the Father is God,

(c) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 121. Lond. edit. p. 413.

(d) Ibid. p. 109.

(e) Apol. ii. p. 161.



as being *his Son*; and an Angel, as *ministring* to his Will(*f*).” And he gives this Reason, why the *Word* is called an *Angel*; to wit, that he may be known to be the *Minister* or *Substitute* of the Father of all Things(*g*).”

In short, it was the unanimous Opinion of the Ancients; that it was absurd and impious to suppose, that the God of the Universe *ever appeared*; or was called an Angel: and from hence *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* concludes; that it was the *Word* of God(*b*). And he calls him “the second Cause, after the Father of all things; having received from the Father Power and Dominion, and administering to his Commands.

The Council of *Sermium* [in 349,] declared against *Photinus*; who maintained, that *Christ* never appeared, till he was born of the Virgin; “Whosoever saith, that the *unbegotten Father* only was seen to *Abraham*, and not the *Son*; let him be accursed(*i*).” And a Curse was likewise denounced by the same Council, against “all; who confess not, that the *Son* *ministred* to the *Father* in the Crëation of all things:” and who maintain, that “when God said, Let *Us* make Man; the *Father* said it not

(*f*) Dial. cum Tryph. p. 101. (g) Ibid. p. 72.  
Lond. edit. p. 410, 259. (b) Dem. Evang. l. V.  
c. 9. Eccles. Hist. p. 3. (i) Socr. l. II. c. xxx. p.  
123. & Hil. Pict de Syn. p. 373. Athan. de Syn. p. 693.  
Tenison of Idol. p. 324.



to the *Son*, but to *Himself*(*k*): and likewise against those who should maintain, that it was the *unbegotten Father*, and not the *Son*, who strove with *Jacob*(*l*)."

The same *Eusebius* just mentioned, who was Bishop in *Palestine*; undoubtedly knew the Opinion of the *Jews*, where he lived; and gives us an Account of them so late as his own times, in these Words(*m*). "The *Jews*, says he, after the Essence of the all-powerful God, who had neither Beginning nor Origin; place that Head, or Chief, which was *begotten* of the Father, and therefore was his *First-born*: which, as he is the Cöadjutor or his Counsil, is therefore called the Image of his Father. Which Chief, as he far excells all created Beings, is for that Reason called the *Image* of God; the *Wisdom* of God; the *Logos*, or *Word* of God; the *Prince* of the Lord's *Host*; and the *Angel* of his *Counsil*, or *Covenant*(*n*)."

The whole of this Opinion is taken from the Old Testament; and we see by it, that the belief of the *Jews* and *Christians*, upon this Subject, was very much alike, for the three first Centuries of the *Christian Æra*: and indeed it could not well be otherwise; while they both

(*k*) *Tenison*; p. 319.      (*l*) *Symb. Sirm.* apud *Hil.*  
de *Syn.* p. 373. & *Socr.* Eccles. Hist. l. II. c. xxx. p. 123.  
*Tenison* of *Idol.* p. 327.      (*m*) *Præpar. Evang.* l.  
VIII. c. 15.      (*n*) *Bishop Clayton* on *Spirit*; p. 41.



derived their Faith from the same Scripture. But when Grandeur, and Riches, and Power, were brought into the *Christian* Church; and ambitious Men made their Court to Emperors, by espousing different Sects and Parties; when the Practical Spirit of Christianity was changed for Metaphysical Theories; and Orthodoxy of Opinion was fixed by Majority of Voices; and Christian Charity was blinded by an ignorant and furious Zeal; the Studying of the Scriptures became not only useless, but dangerous. Truth gave way to Authority; and the very knowledge of *Christ's* Person was lost in Mystery. Sometimes he *was*, and sometimes he *was not*, the Angel of the Covenant: and when he *was*, then the *Angel* of *God* was supposed to be equal to *God* himself; the *Son* equal to the *Father*; the *Messiah*, who was sent by *God* to do his Will, equal to the *God*, who sent him, and rewarded him for his Obedience: the *infinite* Substance to be *circumscribed* by a human Body; the *impassible* Substance to be *crucified*; and the *supreme God*, under the name of the *Son*, to *suffer*; in order to satisfy *Himself*, under the name of the *Father*. And the ancient Faith of the Church was almost entirely lost.

If it be asked, in what Condition *our own* Religion then was; and whether it was not capable of giving great Light to the *Christians*, and leading them out of this Labyrinth, in



which they were involved? it must be answered, it was not.—For when our Fathers found the Arguments, which the Christians used from their Scriptures, to prove that the *Messiah* was come; pressed hard upon their Opinions, which they could not fairly defend; and the Interpretations and Comments of their ancient Rabbins favoured the *Christian* Faith; they acted with the same Heat, and inconsiderate Zeal against the *Christians*, as the different Sects of the *Christians* did against one another; and by giving new, forced, and unnatural Interpretations to the Texts of Scripture which appeared to make against them, have so confounded themselves; that at present they scarcely know what they believe: and finding all attempts in vain, to answer the *Christians*; they seem at last to have acquiesced in looking upon their Prophecies of the *Messiah*, as a *Mystery* not to be enquired into: and to rest in a System of *Quietism*, which has shut out all farther Improvement, and even Curiosity in Religious Studies.(o).

(o) Profecto qui dies illis candidam Libertatis lucem abstulit, Imperiumque de eorum excussit manibus; ille idem ingenuos quoque spiritus eorum perdomuit, nihil ut amplius habeant vividi vigoris. Ut *Eumæus Ulyssi* illud divine ait;

Ἡμισυ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς

Ἄνερος, εὖτ' ἂν μὴν κατὰ δόλιον ἡμᾶρ ἔλῃσι.

*Cunæus*; p. 115.

But



But notwithstanding the palpable Darkneſs, which overspread the face of Literature for many Ages; and gave an opportunity of introducing Transubstantiation, the Worship of the Dead, and a new Explication of the Trinity, contrary to the Scriptures and the ancient Fathers; whereby this Doctrine, that *Christ* was the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, was a long time lost; and the *Christian Church* was divided upon the Question, *who* and what he was; whether a *Man*, or an *Angel*, or the supreme *God*, or only a *mode of Existence* under which the supreme God appeared, &c. yet at the revival of Learning, upon the Reformation made by the Protestants, such strong proofs were found in the Scriptures, from the Texts I have produced and many others, for the Truth of this Doctrine; and such great and abundant Authority from the Writings of the Ancients, both *Jews* and *Christians*; that the most famous and valuable of the *Christian Commentators* have been obliged by mere force of Truth and Evidence, to acknowledge it to be the sense of the Scripture, in many Texts which were incapable of Explanation upon any other Principle.

I shall quote a few Authors, to prove this; as they now lie before me.

Dr. *Allix's* Book of the Judgment of the *Jewish Church*, is wholly written to prove this Doctrine to be the Doctrine of that Church. And



Bp. *Bull* has fully proved it to be the Doctrine of the ancient *Christian* Fathers.

*Poole*, in his Annotations on *Gen.* xlviii. 16. where the Redeeming Angel is spoken-of, says; "Surely [this was] not a *created Angel*; but *Jesus Christ*, who is called an *Angel*; *Ex.* xxiii. 20. and the *Angel of the Covenant*; *Mal.* iii. 1." And *Pyle*, in his Paraphrase on the *Pentateuch*, tells us; that the *Redeeming Angel* means *Jesus Christ*, the *Angel of the Covenant*. And the *Dutch* Annotations, printed by authority of the Synod of *Dort* in 1618, and published by authority in 1637, say; "this cannot be a *created Angel*, but must be the *Son of God*." And, on *Is.* lxiii. 9. the *Angel of the Presence* saved them; the *Dutch* Annotators say, "the *Angel of his Face*:" that is, the Angel that is before his *Face*, that taketh care of their Salvation; to wit, *Christ*. So also on *Ex.* xxiii. 20. And *Poole* tells us, that "the *Angel of the Presence* is the same that conducted the *Israelites* through the Wilderness; called an *Angel*, *Ex.* xxxii. 2. and his *Presence*, ver. 14. and *Jehovah*, *Ex.* xiii. 21. so that it must be the same as the Lord *Jesus Christ*; as *Stephen* doth interpret it, *Acts* vii. 35." *Calvin* says; *potest de Christo exponi*: and *Calovius* says; *Messiam hic intelligi multa docent*: and gives several Reasons, why it must be so understood; which are very conclusive(*p*).

(*p*) *Poole's* Synopsis on *Is.* lxiii. 9.

And



And on *Ex. iii. 2.* where mention is made of the Angel that appeared in the Bush; the *Synopsis* says; this was *Christ*; *nempe Angelus magni Consilii*; so say *Vatablus, Castalio, Clarius, Junius, Piscator*, from the *Rabbins*. So also *Theodoret, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Justin, Tertullian, Hilary*.

And again; *Calvin* on *Zech. ii. 10.* says;  
 “ Hence it is plain (because this *Jehovah* was  
 “ to appear conspicuously and bodily) that this  
 “ expression cannot be perverted to signify the  
 “ prophet; nor can it agree with *God the Father*,  
 “ *Christ* therefore speaks here not as a *Man*, or an  
 “ *Angel*, but as *Jehovah*; by which name he is  
 “ here called, and as *God the Redeemer*.”

Now from hence I argue; that if *Christ* be that *Jehovah*, who is visible; he can be no other Person than the *Angel* of the *Covenant*: and if he be *once* so, he must be so *always*. For though he supported the *Person* and *Character* of the supreme *Jehovah*, but was not the supreme *Jehovah* himself; yet we are never told, that he supported the *Character* of the *Angel* of the *Covenant*: and therefore if he *ever* speaks in *his* Name, he must be the very identical Person; and ought to be understood as such, through the whole *Revelation*: and the *Christians* have no Authority from *Scripture* to suppose, that He takes up and lays down this *Character*, just as *they* please; *arbitrio popularis auræ*.

See



See also the learned Mr. *Ainsworth*, on the above Texts; who tells us, “that this Angel was *Christ*; on *Ex. iii. 2* and on *Gen. xlviii. 16. Christ, the Angel of the Covenant.*”

Archbishop *Tenison* says; “the Son was that Angel of God, who strove with and blessed the Patriarch *Jacob*: hence *Jacob*, in grateful memory of that blessing, called the place *Peniel*; having there seen the *Face*, that is, the *Shechinah* or *Image of God*; personated by the *Logos*, his *Son(q).*” And again; “by the Son the Father made the World; and what if I say he governed it also; as by his *Logos* or *Word*? For in God we do not distinctly apprehend his way of working; but conceive it under the more general notion of *Will* or *Command*. If I declare, the *Son* always acted in the *Father's Name*; I make but the same Profession, which *Tertullian* did many ages ago,” &c.

Bp. *Pearson* quotes *Hosea i. 7.* where God says, I will have mercy upon the house of *Judah*, and will save them by *Jehovah* their God: and observes, that the *efficient Cause* of Salvation is here called *Jehovah*, as well as the *original Cause*: and this, he says, can be no other than *Jesus Christ(r).* And, on *Zech. x. 12.* he makes the same Observation: what other *Lord*, [that is *Jehovah*] can we conceive to dwell in the midst

(q) *Tenison* on *Idol. 327.*

(r) *Pearson* on the *Creed*; 148.



of us, and to be *sent* unto us by the *Lord* [*Jehovah*] of Hosts; but *Christ(s)*?

Bishop *Bull* says; “the Fathers of the first ages generally teach, that the *Son* of *God* frequently appeared to holy Men, under the Old Testament. Nay, all those appearances, wherein the Name *Jehovah* and divine honours are given to the Person that appeared; (notwithstanding that perhaps he be also called an *Angel*) are understood by them, as belonging to the *Son* of *God*. He that knows not this, is a stranger in the Writings of the Fathers(*t*).” And again; “wherever it was not a *mere Angel*, but *God himself* that appeared; there, according to the unanimous Opinion of all primitive Antiquity, we constantly affirm; that it was not the *Father*, but the *Son(u)*.”

Bishop *Burnet* says; the Fathers for the most part had a Notion very frequent in their Writings, till St. *Augustine's* time, [about the year 400.] who did confute it, and obliged them by whom it was received, to reject it: which is; that the *Father alone* being of himself *invisible*, apparitions of *God*, made in the Old Testament, must be referred only to the *Logos*; as to him, whom the *Father* had not only employed as a Minister in the *Creation*, but by whom also he always revealed himself under the *Old Testament*

(*s*) *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 149.

(*t*) S. I. c. i. § 2. See *Clarke's* Scrip. Doctr. n. 616.

(*u*) Sect. iv. c. iii. § 15. p. 78.



—And the foundation of this Opinion, he says, is more solid, than Mr. *Hill* is aware of; almost all the Ancients prove the Divinity of *Jesus Christ*, because it was He, who appeared under the Old Testament; and that He, who then appeared, is named *Jehovah*, which the LXX render *Κύριος*. And he says; it is St. *Paul*'s Doctrine, that the *Logos* is *Jehovah*; and that the *Jehovah* incarnate is no less *Jehovah*, than he was before the Incarnation. If it were otherwise; St. *Paul* had argued like a Sophister, when he proves, by a Passage out of *Joel*, that Salvation belongs to *Christians*; because they invoke *Jesus Christ*, who is spoken-of by *Joel*(x).

Dr. *Samuel Clarke*, in his *Scripture Doctrine*, says; “it is the unanimous Opinion of all Antiquity, that this *Angel*, who said, I am the *God* of thy Fathers, was *Christ*, the *Angel* of the Covenant, (the *Angel* of *God*'s Presence, and in whom the Name of *God* was;) speaking in the Name and Person of the Invisible Father(y).

The Author of the Reply to Dr *Waterland*'s Defence of his Queries, says; “the *Son* was the *God*, not of or from whom, but by or through whom all things were: the *Word*; the visible Person; the *Shechinah* or visible Representation of the invisible *God*; who, from the beginning appeared in the Old Testament, under the Title

(x) *Animad.* on Mr. *Hill*'s Book, p. 18, &c.

(y) No. 619, 579, 359, 916, 69, 491. See these places.  
of



of God, the *Angel of the Lord*; who in the fulness of time was made Flesh; and came unto *his own*, [either to Mankind in general; or to the People of the *Jews*, whom he had all-along conducted in a peculiar manner;] and was rejected by them; and humbled himself unto death of the Cross, and rose again, and was highly exalted to the right hand of God, and had then all power given him, both in Heaven, and in Earth(z). 'Tis remarkable; that the Descriptions of the *Word*, in the Old Testament, always represent him as the *Angel* or *Messenger* of *God's* Will; and that he is never, in his *own* Person, said to have a *Throne* or *Kingdom*; but in the Prophecies of his coming in the *Flesh*. Thus in *Daniel*, I saw in the Night Visions, and behold one like the *Son of Man*(a), &c. and thus *Isaiab* likewise foretold; Unto us a Child is born, &c(b). and that the same Person, who had been in the Form of *God*; as being the *Shechinah*, or visible Representation of *God's* invisible Glory; and the Declarer and Executer of his Will, under the Old Testament; did receive that Dominion and Power of Judgement, with which he is now invested; and was made Heir and Judge of all, after his Resurrection from the dead; is declared by *St. Paul*(c): who tells the

(z) Reply to Dr. *Waterland*, p. 229, 230. (a) *Dan.* vii. 13, 14. (b) *Is.* ix. 6. (c) *Phil.* ii. 6, 7, 8.



*Philippians*, that being in the Form of God, he did not claim to be [honoured.] as God, ἐκ ἀρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο; but emptied himself of that glorious Form, and took upon him the Form of a Servant(*d*),” &c.

Dr. *Sykes*, says(*e*); “it seems to be as universally received an Opinion, as any among the *Christian* Writers; that the *Son* of *God* was the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; was the *Angel* that appeared to *Abraham*, and to *Moses*, and to others.

Lastly; Mr. *Lowth*(*f*) says: “The *Angel*, “who conducted them by the Pillar of Cloud, “and of Fire, was no other than the *Logos*, or “second Person of the blessed Trinity, according to the sense of the ancient *Jews*; as “Dr. *Allix* hath proved at large, in his Judgment of the *Jewish* Church, against the *Unitarians*(*g*). This divine Person is sometimes “indeed

(*d*) Reply to Dr. Waterland, p. 230, 231. (e) On *Heb.* ii. 2. (f) *Is.* lxiii. 8. (g) *Allix*, ch. xiii, xiv, xv. To the Authorities mentioned by Bishop *Bull*, Letter I. Note xiv. add, from Dr. *Allix*, *Clem. Alex.* Pæd. I, 7. *Origen* in *Isa.* vi. *Cyprian* con. *Jud.* ii. 5. *Constitut.* Apoc. v. 21. *Cyril Hieros.* Cat. xii. The Council of *Sirmium*, c. xiii. *Greg. Bat.* tr. de Fide *Theod.* Q. 5. in *Exod.* &c. *Chrysostom* frequently builds upon it; and teaches, that *Christ* therefore gave the Law; that he might have Authority, when it was convenient to abrogate it. See *Tenison* on Idolatry; p. 332. And *Chrysost.* Hom. 66. in *Gen.* vii. where he asserts, that the *Elohim*,



“ indeed called an *Angel* ; as *Ex.* xiv. 9. but at  
 “ other times the incommunicable Name of *Jehovah*  
 “ *Jehovah* is given to him. So [*Ex.* xiii. 21.] it  
 “ is said expressly ; that the *Lord* [*Jehovah*]  
 “ went before the people in a pillar of Cloud  
 “ by Day, and of Fire by Night. Compare  
 “ *Ex.* xiv. 21.—In the same Book, *God* saith  
 “ of him ; that His *Name* is in him : *i. e.* His  
 “ *Godhead*. [xxiii. 21.] Again ; he is called  
 “ *God's Presence* ; [*Ex.* xxxiii. 18.] an Ex-  
 “ pression parallel to that of the Text. So,  
 “ [*Deut.* iv. 37.] we read ; God chose their  
 “ Seed after them, and brought them out by  
 “ his *Presence* ; for so the Word *Bepanau* signi-  
 “ fies. But our Translators have made no  
 “ sense at all of the place by rendering it “ and  
 “ brought thee out *in his Sight*.” God, to shew  
 “ his Anger for the Sin of the Golden Calf,  
 “ threatens the People that he would not lead  
 “ them himself ; but only send his Angel with  
 “ them : [*Ex.* xxxiii. 2, 3.] At this the Peo-  
 “ ple were very much displeased ; [ver. 4.]  
 “ and *Moses* earnestly intercedes with *God*, that  
 “ the divine *Presence* might still accompany  
 “ them : [ver. 15.] that is, that *God* would  
 “ continue to go before them, in the Pillar of  
 “ Cloud and Fire. According to this Inter-

*Elohim*, in *Gen.* xlviii. 15. was the Eternal Son of God.  
 See the Authorities quoted from Bishop *Bull* ; Letter I.  
 Note XV.



“pretation, *St. Paul* saith; that the *Jews*  
 “tempted *Christ* in the *Wilderness*; [*I Cor. x.*  
 “9.] meaning, the *Logos*; who, after his  
 “assuming human Nature, was *Christ*.—When  
 “the Tabernacle was set-up, this *Shechinah*, or  
 “token of *God’s Presence*, took-up his Resi-  
 “dence over the Ark; [*Numb. vii. 89.*] and  
 “the Cloud covered the Top of the Taberna-  
 “cle. [*xi. 34, 38.*] And then the *Lord* is  
 “said to come-down in the Pillar of a Cloud;  
 “and solemn Adoration is paid to him, when  
 “this Symbol of the divine Presence appeared.  
 “*Ex. xxxiii. 10. Numb. xvi. 19, 22.* All  
 “these Circumstances laid together, prove;  
 “that the *Person*, who led the People through  
 “the *Wilderness*, could be no *created Being*;  
 “though he is sometimes called an *Angel*, be-  
 “cause he took upon him the Office and Mi-  
 “nisty of *Angels*; as he afterwards took upon  
 “him the Form of a *Servant*. But in the Text  
 “he is stiled, in a distinguishing manner, the  
 “*Angel of God’s Presence*; and, [*in Malachi*  
 “*iii. 1.*] the *Angel of the Covenant*, for so the  
 “Words should be translated.” And [*on Is.*  
 “*vi. 1.*] *Mr. Lowth* explains the *Lord*, to be  
 “the divine *Shechinah*; or the *Glory* of the  
 “*Lord*, as *St. John* explains it; [*xii. 41.*] who  
 “also assures us; that it was the *Logos*, or *se-*  
 “*cond Person* of the blessed Trinity: this Vision  
 “having a particular Relation to the times of  
 “the Gospel. [*ver. 9, 10.*] It was the una-  
 “nimous



“ nimous sense of the ancient Church; that  
 “ all the divine Appearances, in the Old Testa-  
 “ ment, were made by the *Son of God*; by  
 “ whom all the Affairs of the Church were or-  
 “ dered from the Beginning. See this proved,  
 “ from the New Testament and the Fathers,  
 “ by Bishop *Bull*; *Def. Fid. Nic. c. 1. sect. 1.*”

By all this you see; that *We*, as well as the *Mahometans*, have been too hasty; in accusing the *Christian Religion* as Idolatrous, and charging the *Christians* in general with Idolatry; because they worship *Christ*: as if the worship paid to the *Angel of God*, or the *Angel of the Covenant*, was the worship of another *God*. I allow; that, if they supposed the *Angel of the Covenant*, to be the *supreme God* and Governor of the Universe, and *equal* to *Jehovah*, in whose *Name* he acts, and whose *Minister* he is; and worshipped him *ultimately*, as *God of the Universe*; this would be *Idolatry*, in the strict and proper sense of the Word: but this is only the opinion of the *Pseudo-Athanasians*; and loses ground daily among Men of Sense; being neither founded on Scripture nor Reason, nor one single Authority from the Fathers of the three first Centuries. *Non duos Deos introduxit Christus; quia non duos æquales, non pares, æquatione in utroque ostensa, posuit. Id enim si fecisset, merito duorum Deorum controversiam suscitasset*; says *Novatian*, cap. xxxi. And it appears; that the worship of *Christ* is of the same Nature,



Nature, with that which was paid by the Patriarchs to the same Person: *i. e.* the visible Angel who appeared to them. And *Abraham*, when he built an Altar to *Jehovah* that appeared to him in the Plains of *Moreh*; [*Gen. xii. 7.*] and *Jacob*, when he was commanded to build an Altar to *Jehovah*, that appeared to him when he fled from *Esau*; [*xxxv. i.*] could have no Notion, that he was the *supreme God*; for they knew him to be the *Angel* and *Minister* of the *supreme God*, as I have already shewn: and therefore, if these Altars were built for *Worship*, and not merely for *Memorials*; the *Worship* paid the *Angel* of the *Covenant* at *these*, as well as at *other* times, was the same with that of the *Christians* at *present*: that is; it was *mediate*, and *subordinate*, and *ultimately* directed to the *Glory* of the *Father*.

And here, I must own; our Brethren seem rather to have *cut* the *Knot*, than to have *untied* it. For both *Abraham* and *Jacob* were commanded by *God* to build their Altars particularly to the *Jehovah* that appeared to them; and therefore it was to the Angel himself. And *Jacob's* was a direct Prayer to the Angel: [*Gen. xlviii. 16.*] and *Joshua* actually worshipped the *Lord* that appeared to him.

It does not therefore seem sufficient to deny the *Fact*; and say, as some of our Masters teach



teach us(*b*), that the Prayers were not directed to the *Angel*; but to the *supreme God*: but rather to account for the propriety of such a worship of the Angel, consistently with the worship of the One supreme God: which others of our Masters have attempted.

But as this Objection of Polytheism and Idolatry is a very ancient one; and is fully answered by the *Primitive Christians*; I shall here avail myself of their Defenses, by giving you a few Quotations from their Writings; as follows.

(*b*) Ubicunque autem reperitur Invocatio ad Angelum, ibi intenditur Precatio ad Deum; qui misit Angelum suum Legatum, ad expediendum istud Negotium. Quod autem legitur, *Josnam* incurvasse se coram *Angelo*; possumus dicere, quod incurvaverit se coram *Deo*. *Abrabanel*, de *Capite Fidei*, p. 43, allows; that *Joshua* prostrated himself before the Angel, ad exequendum ejus mandatum; per modum inferioris; ut coram eo humiliaret se qui major erat illo. Non autem oportet difficultatem in eo movere, quod *Jacob* adoraverit *Angelum*; cum ait, *Angelus qui liberavit me*; [Gen. xlviii. 16.] est enim Precatio ad Deum: quemadmodum cum dicit, *Patres mei ambulaverunt coram Deo qui gubernat me*: & Angelus missus est ex providentia ad liberandum eum; atque ideo ait, *Angelus liberavit me ex omni malo*. But *Jonathan*, the *Jewish Paraphrast*, and other Writers after him, do commonly term this Blessing, in Gen. xlviii. a Prayer: and for this reason, *R. Menassah* thought it necessary to endeavour to reconcile this Prayer of *Jacob* with the first Commandment; which forbids the Worship of *Angels*, according to the *Jews*' Interpretation. *R. Menach. de Rek. in Pent. f. 97. c. iv. Allix*; p. 450.

*Justin*



*Justin Martyr* says, in his Dialogue with *Trypho*; he who, being endued with a pious disposition, loves *God* with all his Heart, and all his Strength; will worship no *other God*: yet he will worship also the *Messenger of God, Christ*, the Angel of his Presence; it being *God's Will*, or the *Command of God*, that he should do so(*i*).

*Origen* says; we demand of *Celsus*, concerning those whom they worship as *Gods*, a proof of the *supreme God's* having appointed them to be worshipped: and if, on the other hand, he demanded the same thing of us, concerning *Jesus*; we will shew him, that *God* hath appointed Him to be worshipped; that all Men should honour the *Son*, even as they honour the *Father*(*k*).

And *Cyprian* says; God the *Father* commanded the *Son* to be worshipped: which he proves from *Ph. ii. 9, 10, 11*(*l*).

*Hippolytus* says of *Christ*; "He hath dominion over all things, as the *Father* over Him; that in all things it may appear there is *One God*, to whom *all* things are *subject*, even *Christ* himself; under whom the *Father* hath put all things, Himself only excepted.

The Apostolic Constitutions represent it as a branch of the *Gnostic Heresy*, to affirm, that

(*i*) Dial. cum *Tryph.* p. 97. edit. Steph. (k) Con. *Cels.* l. viii. p. 384. (l) *De bono Patientiæ.* Reply to *Waterland's* defence, p. 388.



*Jesus* is the *supreme God* over all: making himself, consequently, to be his own Father.

*Eusebius* wrote a Book against *Marcellus*; by order of the Council of *Constantinople*, [held in 336;] in which he solemnly declares, that he would give no private Sentiment of his *own*; but the pure Doctrine of the *Church*: [nihil sibi proprium nullumve Sapientiæ suæ inventum se in medium adducturum esse; τῆς δὲ Εκκλησίας τῆ Θεῷ ἀδιάφθορον διδασκαλίαν· quam a testibus auritis & oculatis olim accepit.] And he asserts frequently; that the *Son* of *God* is not the *supreme God*(*m*). And he lays it down for the constant known Doctrine of the Church; that *Christ* himself is not the *supreme God*; [ὁ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεός·] and affirms; “ he cannot be a pious person, who says the *Son* is the *supreme God*(*n*):” and adds, that *Sabellius* was excommunicated for this very Assertion(*o*); and that he is Θεός, but not ὁ πρῶτος Θεός. And that the Church does not introduce *two* unbegotten, nor *two* unoriginated Beings, nor *two* Substances equal and coördinate to each other; and therefore not *two* Gods. And it is remarkable; that the *Antenicens* never defend the Unity; by saying the *Father* and *Son* were *one* by Unity of Substance: but only by saying, there were not *two* Gods; because the *Son* was not *supreme*

(*m*) *Whitby's* Disq. Mod. p. 182.      (*n*) *Euseb. de Eccles. Theol.* l. I. c. vii.      (*o*) *Lib. II. c. iv.*



*God*, nor of *equal* Power with the *Father*; but different in *Essence*: Inferior to the *Father*; subject to Him; obedient to Him; ministering to Him in all things, even before his Incarnation(*p*).

Again; there being but *one* Original, says *Eusebius*, and *one* Head, how can there be *two* Gods? Is not He alone the one God, who has no *Superior*, no *Cause* of his Existence; but possesseth of Himself an unoriginated and unbegotten monarchical Power and Divinity; and communicates to the *Son*, of his Divinity and Life: and whom he [the *Son*] teacheth to esteem the *only true* God, and confesseth to be, greater than *himself*(*q*)? And again; it is not necessary that he, who supposes two distinct Beings, should make two *Gods*: for we do not suppose the two to be equal in Honour, nor that they are both of them unoriginate, or unbegotten(*r*).

*Tertullian* says; *He* principally hath the Government, by whom it is communicated to the *Son*; and so long as it is *His*, it is still a *Monarchy*: and the Monarchy can no more be divided or destroyed, by being administered by the *Son*; (to whom it is given by the *Father*, and who does nothing but by the Will of the

(*p*) *Whitby's* Disquis. Modest. p. 182. (*q*) *Demonf.*  
Evang. p. 227. (*r*) *Eccles. Theol.* lib. II. c. 7.



*Father*;) than if it had been administered by a Legion of *Angels*(*s*).

*Lactantius* says; “the *Son of God* taught, that there is but *one* God; and that He only ought to be worshipped. Nor did he ever call himself God: for he would not have been found faithful; if when he was sent to take away the *many* Gods, and to declare the *One*, he had introduced any other besides the *One*. For this would not have been preaching the *One* God, nor doing the Work of *Him* that sent him; but his *own* Work: and would have been a separating of himself, from Him whom he came to make known—Wherefore, because he was so faithful, and assumed nothing to *himself*, but only fulfilled the Commands of *Him* that sent him; he was invested with the Dignity of an everlasting High-Priest, the Honour of a supreme King, the Power of a Judge, and the Name and Title of God(*t*).”

And *Origen* solves the Objection, in the following manner: “My Answer to these is; that the *self-existent* God is *that* God. Therefore our Saviour says, in his Prayer to the *Father*; that they may know *thee*, the only true *God*. But whatever is God, besides that *self-existent* Person, being so by communication of His Divini-

(*s*) *Adv. Prax.* c. iii, iv.

(*t*) *Lact.* l. IV. c. xiv. Reply to Dr. Waterland's defence, p. 389.



ty, is not *God* absolutely; but is more properly called a *divine Person*: ἐχὶ Θεός, ἀλλὰ Θεός\* and therefore he calls the Divinity of *Christ*, the *Image* of the *true Divinity*(u).

And *Basil*; to the Question, but how then, if there be two distinct Persons in the *Godhead*, do we not make *two* Gods? answers, as I have just observed; why just as a *King*, and the *Deputy* of a *King*, do not make *two* Kings. ὅτι Βασιλεὺς λέγεται καὶ ἡ τῆς Βασιλείας εἰκὼν\* καὶ ἔδύο Βασιλεῖς.(x). Here the *Godhead* can only mean *Dominion*; and this is the medium that *Phil. a Limborch* uses, to prove that *Christ* is *God*; because he reigns in Heaven: *Si Christianus ostenderit Christum vere in Cælo regnare; tum probavit Christum esse Deum*(y). Accordingly *Novatian* says; *God* the *Father* is, without Contradiction, the *God* of all; and the very Principle of his *Son*, whom he made *Lord*: but the *Son* is the *God* of all *Creatures*; because *God* the *Father* hath set him at their Head, when He made him *Lord*(z). And *Hippolytus* also says; *Christ* is *God* over all, because *God* the *Father* hath delivered all things into his hand(a).

(u) *Origen* on *John*, p. 46, 47.

(x) *Basil. de Spir.*

*Sanct. c. xviii. Essay on Spirit*, p. 92.

(y) *Amic.*

*Col. Edit. Basil. p. 380.*

(z) *Novat. de Trin. cap.*

*ult.*

(a) *Cont. Noet. p. 10. Whitby's last Thoughts,*

*p. 80.*



The learned Dr. *Whitby* speaks in the same manner with *Limborch*; and says—Our blessed Lord, having a true Dominion over all things in Heaven and Earth, must be *truly* God. And that this Dominion is given and committed to him by the *Father*, doth not render him less *truly* God; because the word God being a relative Term, it is not the *metaphysical* Nature, but the *Exercise* of *Dominion*, that constitutes him a *God* to us. And this Dominion he ascribeth to himself in these Words: *the Father judgeth no Man, &c(b)*. And hence infers; “that all Men should honour the *Son*, even as they honour the *Father* that sent him.”

Our Saviour may therefore be called *God*; first, on account of his divine Excellencies; for which reason most of the *Antenicene* Fathers say, that he is εἰκὼν τῆς ἀληθινῆς Θεότητος, καὶ διὰ τὸτο Θεός: the Image of the Father's *Deity*, and therefore *God*: and secondly, because he hath Dominion over all things(c).

To these Quotations, I shall add the following Remarks on the Words quoted by *Origen*. That, when *Christ* addressed himself in Prayer to *God* the *Father*, calling him the *only true* God; he certainly excluded himself from being the *only true* God. For he could never have prayed to the *Father* in these Words; “that they may

(b) *Whitby's last Thoughts*, p. 80. *John* v. 22.

(c) *Ib.* p. 25.



know Thee, the *only true* God (*d*): if He had been the *only true* God himself; either in whole, or in part. The Word *Thee*, being *personal*, plainly determines the *Person* of the *Father* to be the *only true* God; not only in opposition to all other *Substance*, but to all other *Persons* also: and, as *all other* Persons are hereby excluded in *general*; so, by the Words immediately subjoined, the *Son* is excluded in *particular*; [that they may know Thee, the *only true* God; and *Jesus Christ*, whom thou hast sent.] Now nothing can be more plain; than that *two* Persons are here spoken-of: One Person is the *only true* God, and the Other *Jesus Christ*; whom the *only true* God hath sent. Hence therefore it appears that the *Person* of the *Father* is the *only true* God, by the express words of *Christ* himself; and that he excludes himself from that Title: whatever may have been since erroneously admitted, as the *Christian* Doctrine, by any of his mistaken Followers. And “therefore, supposing there may be *some* in the multitude of Believers, as *Origen* says, who rashly affirm Our Saviour to be the *supreme* God; yet *We* affirm no such thing: but believe him who hath said, “My *Father* is *greater* than I.”

It is very remarkable; that the Title of the *only true* God, which *Christ* has here appropri-

(*d*) *John* xvii. 3.



ated to the *Father*; is never given to *Christ*, even by the *Post-Nicene* Fathers: and the Reason seems to be; that their understanding revolted at so strong and unwarranted an Expression: which recalls to my Mind, how *Our* Dispute ended with the Popish Priests at *Marseilles*; by the imprudent behaviour of our Friend *Khaled*. For *They* no sooner mentioned *Mary*, the Mother of *God*; but he rose up in a great heat, swearing by *Mahomet*, that *God* was neither *born* nor *died*, and had neither *Son* nor *Daughter*; and that all such as pretended to make their *God*, were more impudent Conjurers than *Jannes* and *Jambres*, who opposed *Moses*. I mention this, for the sake of observing; that, as the *Fathers* feared to call *Christ* by the Name of the *only true* God; so the *Protestants*, even those who call themselves *Athanasians*, are afraid to call the Mother of *Jesus Christ*, the Mother of *God*: which plainly proves; that all such, as refuse these Titles to *St. Mary* and to *Christ*, out of Conscience, have two different senses to the Word *God*; whatever they pretend to the contrary: *One*, when they speak of the invisible *Jehovah*; and *an Other*, when they speak of *Christ*: otherwise they could not refuse to call *Mary* the Mother of *God*; and *Christ* the only true *God*: For by all the Logic in the World, if She be the *Mother* of *Christ*, and *Christ* be *God*; She is the *Mother* of *God*, in the same sense



sense in which he is called *God*: and if he be the *only true God*; then She is the *Mother of the only true God*.

But, after all; the Errors of the *Christians*, and the Advantage which their Enemies have made of them, are no Objections to *Christianity* itself. On the contrary, if *Christianity*, as revealed in the *New Testament*, does not contradict the *Law* and the *Prophets*, in this Essential Doctrine; as I have shewn, that it does not; it may, for any thing that has yet appeared against it, be a continuance of the same Revelation, which was given to Moses; carried-on among the *Christians*, by the very same Person: to wit, by the Visible *Jehovah*; under the Name of *Christ*.

They of old; says *Eusebius*, evidently knew, the very *Christ* of God. For that he appeared to *Abraham*, gave answers to *Isaac*, talked with *Jacob*, conversed with *Moses*, and afterwards with the Prophets, we have shewn above [ch. II.] —What then hindreth but that we may henceforth confess that one and the same way of living and the same kind of Religion is common to us, who have our name from *Christ*; with those who of old sincerely served God, and were so dear to him(e).

In what light You may at present look-upon these Things, I do not pretend to divine: but,

(e) *Euseb. Eccles. hist. B. 1. ch. iv.*



as to myself; the farther I have searched the *Jewish* and *Christian* Revelations, the more I am satisfied; that what I have now laid before you, is the *true* sense of both: and the *only* sense, in which they can be consistently explained.

If I were leaving the Religion of my Ancestors, and renouncing the Revelation which was made by *Jehovah* to our Fathers; no Man would be more obnoxious than myself to a Religious Dread and Horror: and even though I were satisfied, upon the whole, that I obeyed the voice of Reason; yet I should not be free from Fears and Doubts. 'Tis no such easy matter to give-up the Principles, in which we have been educated; no such desirable thing to fly-off from the Opinions of those, with whom we have spent the flower of Life; whom we love, and by whom we hope to be beloved again. Were I in this situation, I should almost become Superstitious; and suspect myself to be under the Influence of some ill-natured and turbulent Spirit, *δειδὸν τε φθονερὸν καὶ ταραχῶδες* (f), that was seducing me to Perdition. But when I see the ancient *Hebrew* Commentators, who had no Systematical Temptations to desert the Truth, agreeing in the same Sentiments with me; when I find a Clue, that leads me through innumerable Difficulties; a Doctrine, which, instead of *contradicting* the

(f) *Herodoti Clig.*



Law and the Prophets, serves to *explain* and *confirm* them; perfecting the great Scheme of Providence for the eternal Happiness of all good Men, agreeably to the same design; of which, in *Our* Scriptures, we sometimes only see the *outlines*; and cannot find any possibility of filling up the *intermediate* Parts, which are there completed in a plain and intelligible manner: and lastly, when I find all this grand and amazing Scheme of Wisdom, and Goodness, and Power; begun, carried-on, and finished, by our Own *Jehovah*; who led our Fathers out of *Egypt*: what is all this, but a continuation of the same *Revelation*? what is it, as *Eusebius* says, but the same *Religion*?

As to all the Mistakes, which the modern *Christians* have fallen into upon this Subject; and thereby given great occasion to the enemies of Revelation to blaspheme: they seem to be owing to one Source only; *viz.* their confining the Definition of the word God(g), to the *One Self-*

(g) *God*, when applied to the *Father*, denotes Him, who alone has all Perfections, and all Power and Dominion, absolutely and of himself; original, underived, and independent of any; and who does all things according to the Counsel of his own Will: which is the *primary, absolute, and supreme* sense of the Word. But, when it is applied to the *Son*, it denotes One; who has NOT his Perfections, Power and Dominion, of himself, original and underived, and independent on any; but has them all de-

rived



*Self-existent Jehovah*, according to the Philosophy and Religion of the *present* Times; whereas, in the *Old* and *New Testaments*, when Polytheism was the reigning Notion among Mankind, the word *God* was much more comprehensive. The Religion of *Moses* was a *popular* Religion, adapted to the *common* Notions of the World at that time; and delivered in the *common Language*, to Men of no Education; a parcel of ignorant Slaves, bred up to labour in the Brick Kiln. They knew nothing of the *Trinity* in *Unity*, nor the *Hypostatic* Union, nor any other Scholastic Term which Men have since invented. But they understood the word *God* in the same plain sense, in which it was understood by all the neighbouring Nations; and in the same plain and unscholastic sense, in which it was understood by the most ancient Fathers; as the above Quotations shew: and as it is explained by Sir *Isaac Newton*; the greatest Man, that has ever appeared among the Moderns; whether we consider him as a *Philosopher* or a *Divine*.

*He* tells us; that “the Being, who governs all things, as *Lord* of the Universe; is stiled

rived to him from *an Other*, and always acts and wills in compliance with the will of *an Other*. In which case, it is manifestly used in a *subordinate* sense. Reply to Dr. *Waterland*’s Defence, p. 171.

*God* is one of those Words, which have been used in many different senses. *Cudworth*, 232.



*Lord God*; upon account of his *Dominion*. For the Word *God* is a relative Term, and has reference to *Servants*; and *Deity* is the *Dominion* of *God*: not such as a Soul has over a Body of its own, (which is the Opinion of those, who make *God* the *Soul* of the World:) but such as a *Governor* has over *Servants*. The Supreme *God* is an eternal infinite, absolutely perfect Being; but a Being, how perfect soever, without *Dominion*, is not *Lord God*. For we say, *My God*, *Your God*, the *God* of *Israel*, the *God* of *Gods* and *Lord* of *Lords*: but we do not say, *My Infinite*, *Your Infinite*, the *Infinite* of *Israel*; we do not say, *My Perfect*, *Your Perfect*, the *Perfect* of *Israel*: for these have no relation to *Servants*. The term *God* very often signifies *Lord*; but every *Lord* is not *God*. The *Dominion* of a Spiritual Being constitutes him *God*: true *Dominion*, true *God*; supreme *Dominion*, supreme *God*; imaginary *Dominion*, imaginary *God*." (So also says Dr. *Whitby*, in his *Last Thoughts*; p. 21.)(b).

And in a Note upon this it is said; "our Countryman, *Pacock*, derives the *Latin* word for *God*, *Deus*; from the *Arabic* word *Du*; [and, in the oblique Case, *Di*:] which signifies *Lord*: and in this Sense, *Princes* are called *Gods*(i); and *Moses* is called the *God* of his Bro-

(b) And in this sense he that hath Spiritual Dominion over us is our *God*, whether it be supreme or not.

(i) *Pf.* lxxxii. 6—*Jo.* x. 34.

ther



ther *Aaron*, and the *God* of King *Pharaoh*(*k*); and in the same sense, the *Souls* of dead *Princes*, were called of old, *Gods*, by the *Gentiles*; but falsely, on Account of their want of *Dominion*(*l*)."

Agreeable to this were the Notions of the vulgar *Heathens*: for when they deified their great Men, they knew that they had lived in this World; where they were born and died. Such were the *Gods* of *Egypt*, before *Menes*; as *Ammon*, *Sesostris*, *Orus*; and the *Gods* of *Crete*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*; and the *Gods* of *Syria*, *Hadad*, and his Wife *Arathes* and Successor *Hazäel*: Such was *Tböas* or *Cinyras*, King of *Cyprus*; deified by the Name of *Baal-Canaan*, or *Vulcan*; and his Wife *Calycopis*, the Mother of *Æneas*; the *Venus*, the *Dea Cypria* and *Dea Syria* of the Ancients. And such were the Deifications, which were introduced from *Phœnicia* into *Greece*; and were so common, about the time of the *Trojan War*(*m*); and continued among the *Romans*, where those Deities were particularly distinguished by the name *Divi*. None of these were ever thought to be *selfexistent*, even by the *Vulgar*; and yet were called by the name of *Gods*: because they were supposed to be *Spiritual Beings*, who after their

(*k*) *Ex.* iv. 16. vii. 1. (l) Sir *Isaac Newton's* Scholium Generale, at the end of his *Principia*. (m) Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology.



Deaths, were advanced to a Dominion over the Affairs of this World; as *Horace* says of the Conquerers at the *Olympic Games*; that their Conquests did exalt them to the *Gods*, the *Lords* of the Earth(*n*). And this was not only the sense of the *Vulgar*, as to the *Divi*; but even of the *Philosophers* themselves, as to those *Gods* which never had lived in this World; *qui semper a Corporis compedibus & nexibus liberi(o)*. For *Maximus Tyrius* tells us; that, “amongst the various Opinions, all Countries agree in this; that there is One *God*, the *King* and *Father* of *all*; and Many *Gods*, the *Sons* of *God*, Partakers with him in his *Government(p)*.” And this was the Opinion of *Plato*; with respect to the *inferior Gods*: that their *Substance* was eternal; but as to their *Formation* and personal *Existence*, they received it from the *self-existent God(q)*: and to *Them* the World was

(*n*) *Hor. Lib. I. Ode i. Terrarum dominos evehit ad Deos.* So *Pythagoras*, ἔσσεαι ἀθάνατος Θεός, ἀμείρολος, ἐκ ἑτῆς ὁμολογίας. and *Cicero* says; Deos esse Dominos et Moderatores omnium rerum. *De Leg. ii.* So *Ovid*; Finxit in effigiem moderantum cuncta Deorum.

(*o*) Which *Apuleius* calls *Superius aliud augustiusque Dæmonum genus.*

(*p*) *Maximus Tyr. Dial. i.*

(*q*) *Plut. de Animæ procreät. p. 1014, 1017. Phil. Cantab. Remarks on Dr. Waterland's second Defence; p. 54, &c.*

Subject,



Subject, and put in order by *Them(r)*. And this is the Reason which is given us by *Herodotus*, why they were called *Gods*; Θεοὶ, ὅτι κόσμῳ θέντες τὰ πάντα πρᾶγμαλα καὶ πάσας νομὰς εἶχον(s). because They disposed the whole Universe, and all the Parts of it, in order; and preserved them in it: agreeable to *Heb. iii. 4.* ὁ δὲ καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ πάντα Θεός. But he that built all things is God. So *Moses*, the Son of *Nachman*, says of the Angel in the Bush; he is called an *Angel*, because he governs the World(t). 'Tis true, that *Plato* in his *Cratylus*, in which he seems to ridicule several uncouth Etymologies; derives the word Θεός, from θέω, *curro*; ὡς αἰεὶ ἰόντα δρόμῳ. But it is probable, *Plato* here means the heavenly Bodies, which were supposed to have an Influence and Power over Men, agreeable to *Onatus* the *Pythagoræan*; who, after declaring the belief of One God, the Greatest, and Highest; adds, τοὶ δ' ἄλ-

(r) *Stobæus* says, The multitude of the Gods is the work of the *Demiurgus*, or *Crëator*; made by him together with the World. *Ecl. Phys. c. i. Cudworth*; p. 462.

(s) *Herodotus* in *Eut. 52.* says, “ the *Pelasgians* before this sacrificed and prayed to the Gods in general; as I was informed at *Dodona*: attributing to none any Name; for they had never heard of any. But they called them Gods upon this account, because κόσμῳ θέντες, &c. quod universum ordine dispositum, omnesque ejus partes cöercerent.”

(t) *Notæ ad Grot. de Verit. Lib. V.* And *R. Menahem* makes the same remark.



λοι οἱ θεοὶ εἰσι κατ' ἑρανὸν meaning the heavenly Bodies(u). For in his *Timæus* he seems to agree with *Herodotus*, and derive it from τίθημι. ἔτω δὴ πῦρός τε καὶ γῆς ὕδωρ αἰθέρα γε ὁ Θεὸς ἐν μέσῳ θέσις. And neither *Herod*, nor *Augustus*, nor any of the Emperors or Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Assyrians*, *Greeks* or *Romans*, could possibly understand the flattering appellation of *Divi*, in any other sense; or conceive, that their Divinity at all related to their metaphysical *Natures*; but merely to their *Dominion*. And accordingly the great *Selden*, speaking-of the Ancients' misunderstanding *Moses*, says; "they received from their Fathers, that the Sun, Moon and Stars, were *Rulers* of the Day and Night, Light and Darkness; which interpreting in a wrong sense, they imagined them to be *Gods*; chiefly because *supreme Dominion* is justly looked-upon as the chief [Sign, Proof] Symbol of *Divinity*(x)."

In the Old Testament, the words *El*, *Elohim*, *Adonai*, are appellatives; and are all translated into *English*, by the word *God*: and in

(u) *Cudworth*, p. 233.

(x) A Patribus acceperunt Solem, Lunam & Stellas, Dominos esse Diei & Noctis, Lucis & Tenebrarum: quod perperam interpretate etiam Deos esse ipsos non dubitabant; maxime cum supremum Dominium potissimum Divinitatis Symbolum merito habeatur. *Selden de Diis Syris* prol. ch. iii. See *Whitby's Last Thoughts*; p. 21. 25.



the LXX, by Θεός. But the word *Jehovah* (y) is the *proper Name* of the *self-existent God*, and is appropriated to *Him* alone; and never used of any other Person, but His *Angel* or *Messenger* who speaks in His *Name*; and therefore ought not to have been translated into any other Language: For when we use the *appellative Word God*, [*El Elobim, Adonai, &c.*] instead of the *proper Name Jehovah*, it does not convey the same determinate sense; as it does not direct us to understand the *self-existent God*, rather than an inferior Being; or the *true God*, rather than a *false* one: but extends to all spiritual Beings, who either *have* Dominion in the World, or are *supposed* to have it: and sometimes much farther. As

I. The Appellative *Elobim* is sometimes applied to *Jehovah* himself: as *Elobim* said unto *Moses*; “moreover, say unto the Children of *Israel*; *Jehovah*, the *Elobim* of your Fathers, the *Elobim* of *Abraham*, the *Elobim* of *Isaac*,

(y) *Jehovah*, as explained by *Maimonides*, in *More Nevochim*, is the *eternal Being*. But Mr. *Ainsworth* interprets it more particularly; and says, it cometh of *havath*, *he was*; and by the first letter, *I*, it signifies, *he will be*: and by the second, *HO*, it signifies, *he is*. And R. *Bechai* says; that these three times, past, present and to come, are comprehended in this proper name; as is known to all. *Ainsworth* on *Gen. ii. 4*. Thus it answers to the name of *God* in the *Apocalypse* iv. 8. ὁ ὢν, καὶ ὁ ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.



and the *Elohim* of *Jacob*, hath sent me unto you(z).

II. At other times it is used to signify the *Gods* of the *Heathens*; as, He that sacrificeth unto any *Elohim*, save unto *Jehovah* only; he shall be utterly destroyed(a). And again, “Wilt thou not possess that, which *Chemosh* thy *Elohim* giveth thee to possess? So whomsoever *Jehovah* our *Elohim* shall drive out from before us, them will we possess(b).” Here we see *Jehovah* and *Chemosh*, the one the proper Name of the true *God* of *Israel*, and the other of the false *God* of the *Ammonites*, are both called by the same Word *Elohim*; being included in the general Notion of Spiritual Beings, having Dominion in the Government of the World. And in this sense the Word Θεός; is used by *St. Paul*; when he calls *Satan* the *God* of this World(c): but neither *Satan*, nor any of the Heathen *Gods*, are ever called *Jehovah*.

III. Sometimes the Word *Elohim* is farther extended; and is not confined to spiritual Dominion only: and in this sense *Princes* and *Magistrates* are called by that Name: as “thou

(z) *Ex.* iii. 15. *Gen.* xiv. 18. *Deut.* vi. 4. (a) *Ex.* xxii. 20. of the Golden Calf, *Ex.* xxxii. 14, 23, 31, of Dagon, *Jud.* xvi, 23. of Ashtaroth, *Chemosh*, *Milcom*, *I Kings* xi. 33. (b) *Jud.* xi. 24. (c) *II Cor.* iv. 4.



thalt not revile the *Gods*, nor curse the *Ruler* of thy People(*d*):” “*God* standing in the Congregation of the *mighty*; he judgeth among the *Gods*(*e*).” [*Elohim*.] And so, again(*f*); “I have said, Ye are [*Elohim*] *Gods*.” And,

IV. The Word is sometimes used, when it neither signifies Dominion nor Spirituality; as when *They* are called *Elohim*, [*Gods*] to whom the Word of *God* came; and they spake in his Name, and by his Authority(*g*): as when *Jehovah* says to *Moses*, See I have made thee [*Elohim*] a *God* to *Pharaoh*(*h*).

It appears therefore from the Scriptures; that the word *Elohim*, [*God*] does not include in it *always* the Idea of *supremacy* and *self-existence*; as the word *Jehovah* does: and may therefore be applied to other Beings, who are not *supreme*, nor *self-existent*. And therefore, when *Christ* tells us; the Scripture calls them *Gods* to whom the *Word* of *God* came; and *St. Paul* says, there are *Gods* many, and *Lords* many: it is certain, they did not mean to use the word *Gods* in the sense of the word *Jehovah*; and to say, there are many *Jehovahs* or self-existent *Gods*; [for in that sense they would have contradicted the Scripture; which declares, *Jehovah* our *Elohim*, *Jehovah* is *One*:] but they used the word *Gods*,

(*d*) *Ex.* xxii. 28.      (*e*) *Psf.* lxxxii. 1.      (*f*) *ver.* 6.  
(*g*) *John* x. 34. 35.      (*h*) *Ex.* vii 1.



in the true meaning of the Appellative *Elohim*; whose signification is not so confined.

On the contrary, if the word *God* in Scripture did always signify the self-existent *Being*, or supreme *God*; it would be impossible to make sense of it. I shall only instance in that grand Title, which is given to *Jehovah*, in many parts of the Old Testament; that he is *God of Gods*, and *Lord of Lords*: Can we possibly understand the word *Gods*, in this place, to signify *self-existent* Beings, and *supreme* Lords of the Universe; [as the Moderns generally confine the use of the word *God*, in their philosophical Disquisitions:] and that *Jehovah* is a *self-existent* Being over other *self-existent* Beings? This is impossible to be the meaning; because there can be but One *self-existent* Being. And consequently, the words, *God of Gods*, and *Lord of Lords*, are relative to *Dominion* only; and have no relation to *Selfexistence* at all. They are expressive of the word *Elohim*; and not of the word *Jehovah*.

But to finish this Inquiry: when *Jacob* vowed a Vow, saying; if *Jehovah* will be with me, and keep me in the way that I go; and will give me Bread to eat, and Garments to put-on; so that I come again unto my Father's house in Peace; then shall *Jehovah* [or, as the *Chaldee* has it, the *Word of Jehovah*] be my [*Elohim* or] *God*: the plain meaning of this is; He shall be my *Lord* and Governor, and I will put myself under His *Dominion*.



*Dominion.* And as the Dominion of the visible *Jehovah* is believed by the *Christians* to be now extended over the whole World, *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*; as was foretold by *Isaiab*, xlix. God having made him both *Lord* and *Christ*; He is their *God*, or *Elohim*, as he is Ours; our peculiarity being now ended: And accordingly, when *Thomas* the Apostle believed him to be the *Christ*, he acknowledges him as such, by an Expression of the utmost Force and Propriety; my *Lord* and my *God*; that is, my *Adonai* and my *Elohim*.

Thus we see, the Charge of Polytheism against the *Christians*, arises from not distinguishing the different senses of the Word [*θεός*, *Deus*,] *God*, as used in the Scriptures; sometimes in the sense of the word *Elohim*, in which sense there are many Gods; and sometimes in the sense of *Jehovah*, in which there is but One. But as long as the *Christians* observe this Distinction, and allow of but One *supreme God*, but One *self-existent Jehovah*; there is not the least ground for any such charge. And all those who argue, from confounding those two senses of the word *God*; that there is but one *Elohim*, because there is but one *Jehovah*: and that *Christ* cannot be *God*, [*Elohim*] except he be [*Jehovah*] the *supreme self-existent God* (arbitrarily confining the word *God* to mean *Jehovah*, as if there were no other meaning in it;) differ  
in



in their Language from the Writers of all Antiquity; whether Sacred or Profane: and directly contradict the Assertions of *Christ* and his Apostles. And if they worship two different Persons, each of them as *Jehovah* the *supreme God*; they are Polytheists: and this would be the Case of all the *Pseudo-Athanasians*; if they saw and allowed those Consequences, which follow unavoidably from their Principles.

But those, who carefully distinguish the two senses of the word *God*, as they are used in the Scriptures; and believe that *Christ* was invested with the Name of *God*; “because he was so faithful, because he assumed nothing to Himself, that he might fulfil the Commands of Him that sent him (*i*); that he has all his Titles, viz. *Son of God*, *Lord*, *Word*, &c. from his being begotten of the *Father* by his *Will* (*k*);” and that he is *Lord of Hosts*, [Κύριος δυνάμεων] by the will of the *Father* that giveth him power (*l*); and that he is constituted *Almighty* by the *Father* (*m*) and *Lord* of the whole Creation (*n*); cannot attribute the same honour to all Beings, who have the Name of *God*: but believe in one *Jehovah*, who is Selfexistent and Supreme over all; to

(*i*) *Lactan* lib. IV. c. xiv.

(*k*) *Iust. Mart. Tryph.* p. 74. Edit. *Paris*.

(*l*) *Ibid.* p. 91.

(*m*) *Hip. con. Noet.* p. 50.

(*n*) *Novat. de Trin.* c. xv. Παυλοκράτως παρὰ πατρὸς καλεσάμενος  
Χριστός.

whom



whom all other Beings in the Universe, though called by the Name of *God*, [*Elohim*] even *Christ* himself, are subject; as he hath so often and so plainly declared. And therefore *Eusebius* says; “it is not necessary, by supposing the *Father* and *Son* distinct *Substances*, to suppose them two *Gods*; for we do not attribute equal honour unto them.” So then the *Christians* suppose the Government of the World to be a Monarchy, under one *Elohim*; whom we distinguish from all others by his proper Name, *Jehovah*; and there is no Supreme, Self-existent *Elohim*, [*God*] but only that One *Jehovah(o)*.

Bishop *Pearson* hath expressed this Opinion of the *Christians*, with great strength and judgement. “We must not therefore, says he, so far endeavour to involve ourselves in the darkness of this Mystery; as to deny that Glory, which is clearly due unto the *Father*; whose Præminence undeniably consisteth in this, that he is *God*, not of any Other, but of Himself; and there is no other Person that is *God*, but is *God* of him. It is no diminution to the *Son*, to say He is from another; for his very Name imports as much: but it were a diminution to the *Father*, to speak so of him; and there must be some præminence, where there is room for derogation. What the *Father* is, he is from *None*; what the *Son* is, he is from Him: what

(o) *Eusebius*.



the *First* is, he giveth; what the *Second* is, he receiveth. The *First* is a *Father* indeed, by reason of his *Son*; but he is not a *God*, by reason of *Him*: whereas the *Son* is not only so, in regard to the *Father*; but also *God*, by reason of the same(*p*).

If it be still objected, both to the *Jews* and *Christians*; that the worship of more than one *Person* is Idolatry; notwithstanding we do not worship more than one *supreme God*: I am afraid, we shall only dispute about Words: and, to avoid such trifling, it will be necessary to consider,

I. What we mean by *Worship*; and

II. What we mean by *Idolatry*.

Certain it is, that every intelligent Being in the Universe hath a Respect and Honour due to him, in proportion to his real worth and Character; from every intelligent Being, who is acquainted with Him: and no One, who is not very weak and superstitious, would think of omitting that proper Honour and Respect, which is another's due, merely for fear of Idolatry; which he *could not* be guilty-of, except by paying him *such* Worship and Respect, as belong to *God* only. For no Being can be guilty of Idolatry; by asking favours of any Person, either human or divine, who has a power and right to dispense them as he pleases; be-

(*p*) *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 35.



cause, wherever there is a right to *benefit* and *assist*, and *reward*, thither common sense and reason teach us to direct our *Addressees*; and whosesoever Servants we are, to him we are to ascribe *Dominion* over us. Nor can there be any Idolatry in returning Thanks to that Being, whether human or divine; from whom we have received a Benefit: for this is no more than an Act of Gratitude. And therefore, when we talk of the Idolatry of worshipping more than One Person, we must consider what *kind* of Respect and Deference we mean to include in that Word: for all that Regard, and Reverence, and Respect, and Supplication, and Prayer, and Thanksgiving, which is due to any one, who is able and willing, and has a right to assist us; cannot be wrong; but perfectly right and fit: call it by what Name you please.

Now the *Greek* word *προσκύνησις*, or *Worship*, is capable of several senses; as it implies different degrees of Honour and Respect.

1. It means the Worship due to the Supreme God; as in *Matt. iv. 10.* Thou shalt *worship* the *Lord* thy God: and the same Word is commonly used in the *Lxx*, for the *Worship* of false Gods also.

2. It is used to signify the Respect and Reverence, which was offered or tendered to an *Angel*; and refused. *Rev. xxii. 8, 9.*

G g g

3. It



3. It is used to signify the Honours paid to the *Kings*, among the *Jews*: and all the congregation blessed the Lord God of their Fathers, and bowed down their heads and worshipped [*προσεκυνήσαν*] the *Lord* and the *King* (*q*): and this worship was sometimes paid by Prostration, as it was used to the *King* of *Persia* (*r*).

4. It is used for the Honour and Respect paid in Supplication, from a Servant to his Master. *Matt.* xviii. 26.

5. It is used for the Respect which was offered to *Peter*, by *Cornelius*; and was rejected. *Acts* x. 25.

That a *Worship* therefore should be paid to the Visible *Jehovah*, of some kind or other; cannot be reasonably objected-to by any one, who considers; that it was paid not only to the true God, but also to Kings, Masters, and Equals: and the Question will be reduced to this one point, what *kind* of *Worship* is due to him, whom God hath made a *Prince*, and a *Saviour*, and put all things under his Feet; and given him power to raise the Dead, and exalted him above all Principality and Power: and, on the other hand, what *Worship* paid to him is Idolatrous; when even the worship of the *Jewish* and *Persian* Kings, by Prostration, does not appear

(*q*) *I Chron.* xxix. 20. *II Sam.* ix. 6.

(*r*) *Polyb.* ἀνάγκη σφί προσφρόνων προσκυνεῖν Βασιλῆα προσπίπτουλας. *II Sam.* ix. 6—xix. 18.



to have had any more Idolatry in it; than bowing the Head, or bending the Knee; Customs now used in *Europe*.

The next Inquiry therefore will be; what it is, that distinguishes an *Idolatrous* Worship from one that is not so. And to find this, we must consider; what there was in the Idolatrous Practices condemned by *God* in the *Old Testament*, different from the Worship we have hitherto considered; or what it was, that made *Their* worship sinful and *Ours* not so.

And here we shall find a difference in two very material Circumstances; as first, the Idolatrous Worship of former Ages was a Worship of *God*, by *Similitude* or *Symbol*: or, 2. An Address to imperfect and impotent Beings; together with a translation of that Honour to *another* Person, which is only due to *God*: both which are prejudicial to the Worship of *God*, and the well-being of Mankind; and therefore condemned by *God*.

1. We find; that *God* resents, as Idolatrous, the Worship of himself by any *Symbol*, or *Similitude*; by which we mean to represent his Person: as Images, Paintings, and such like. This kind of Worship introduces low and unworthy Notions of *God*; and represents him as material, finite, and subject to abuse and decay; impotent, and many ways imperfect. But this is not the Case, in the Worship of the Visible *Je-*



*bovab*; because we never suppose him to be the Symbol or corporeal Representation of the Supreme God; but a different Being, the *Angel*, or *Messenger* of the Supreme God; whose Similitude consists in his *natural* and *moral* Perfections, and is only visible to the *Understanding*.

But 2dly, we find also; that *God* resents, as Idolatrous, the giving His Honour to another. When we speak of the Honour which is given to *God*, we mean nothing else but the unavoidable Approbation of the Understanding, upon knowing the Perfections of God, and in what manner He has acted; and declaring these things to others. For the highest Honour and Praise that can be given to *God*, is to speak the plain Truth of him; and represent him as he is: and the giving God's Honour to *Another*, consists in giving that Praise and Thanks to *another* Being, which we owe to *God*: and acknowledging *another* to be the Author of those good, wise, and powerful Actions, which proceed from *God*. And consequently, the prejudice we receive, by attributing to any *other* Being what *God* has done for us, or what He alone is in his own Nature; is this; that it prevents us from knowing Him, and loving Him, and setting our dependence upon Him; and becoming sensible of what is just, and good and true, by contemplating His Nature and Actions. For as our Notions of *God* are depraved, and we lose sight of the *all-perfect*  
Cha-



Character; which we must naturally and necessarily do, by attributing to *Another* the Honour that is due to *Him alone*; so will our Notions of every moral Perfection be depraved in proportion. And as our Notions of moral Perfection become depraved, by giving to *Another* the Honour due to *God*; so likewise will the obligation to the practice of those Virtues we admire, be rendered weak and precarious by it. For no Being can think it absolutely necessary to be perfect; if he believes the *God*, who is his *Judge*, is not so Himself: and therefore, if we consider ourselves as dependent on any other Beings for Happiness of any kind, as upon *Saints*, or *Angels*, &c. who are *impotent* and *imperfect*, whose Worship can neither make us better nor wiser, [for we know nothing of their moral Character, but their Imperfection] and whose Favours cannot be directed by *supreme* Wisdom, Justice and Goodness; we shall be encouraged to expect the Enjoyment of Happiness and Reward, without the practice of Virtue; and make court to such Beings by *Flattery*, and not by *moral Improvement*. But this is not the Case, in the Worship of *Christ*: He is in no respect either impotent or imperfect; but appeared to our Fathers, arrayed in all the Power and Majesty, and moral Attributes of *God*; Grace, Mercy, Goodness, and Truth (s): being a most perfect Pattern for

(s) *Ex. xxxiv. 6, 7.*



our Imitation ; so that no favour can be expected from Him, but by endeavouring to deserve it : He will accept no Prayers, but what the invisible *Jehovah* accepts through Him ; and confers no Favours, but what the invisible *Jehovah* confers by Him ; for what we receive by *Him*, we receive by order and command of the *supreme* God ; and in this sense it is, that the *Father* and *Son* are *One* : or, to speak in the words of *Justin Martyr* ; “ I affirm, that the *Son* never *did* or *said* any thing ; but what it was the Will of the Maker of the Universe, above whom there is no *God*, that He should both *do* and *say*(*t*).” And as it is through Him, that we receive Blessings from the supreme *God* ; so, in return for what we receive, the Worship which we pay *Him* is directed *ultimately* to the supreme *God*(*u*). And there can be no more wonder, that *St. Paul* should pray to him, under Difficulties ; as he did three times, upon the same Occasion(*x*) ; or that *Stephen* should recommend his Spirit to him, when he was dying(*y*), or that *John* should represent in Vision the twenty-four Elders falling down before him ; and offering-up to him, as Incense, the Prayers of the Saints(*z*), or that

(*t*) *Just. Mart. Dial.* p. 69. *Jackson*, p. 130.

(*u*) The Father, says *Eusebius*, is the Lord and God of the Son ; and therefore all Religious Knowledge centers in *One* Original and in *One* God. *Demonst. Evang.* lib. III. c. viii.

(*x*) II *Cor.* xii. 8, 9.

(*y*) *Acts* vii. 59.

(*z*) *Rev.* v. 8.



the whole Company of *Christians* should worship him at his Ascension; [*προσκυνήσαντες αὐτόν*] than that *Jacob* should bless *Joseph*, and say; “*God*, [*Elohim*] before whom my Fathers *Abraham* and *Isaac* did walk; the *God*, which fed me all my Life long, unto this Day: the *Angel*, which redeemed me from all Evil; bless the Lads:” &c(*a*). And besides these Reasons, which are common to the *Jews* and *Christians*; the latter have also this additional one, why they pray immediately to *Christ* himself: viz. because he is *not now* in the Character of God’s *Angel* or *Messenger*; but has actually received the *Kingdom*, which was prophesied-of by *Daniel* to be given to the *Son of Man*; and now acts as *King* in his *own Kingdom*; and can give eternal Life to as many as he will. *John* xvii. 2. In a word; the *Messiahship* of *Jesus* denotes his Royal Commission and Power; or his Right, by Divine Designation, to Dominion and Judicature over Mankind(*b*). So that the Worship they pay him, is only that of *Subjects* to their *King*. The Worship of *Christ* therefore is free from all those offensive Circumstances, which render Idolatry displeasing to *God*; and therefore ought not to be called by that Name(*c*).

(*a*) *Gen.* xlviii. 15, 16.

(*b*) *Farmer*, on Miracles,

p. 370.

(*c*) *Whitby’s Last Thoughts*, p. 24.

But



But however these Arguments may appear conclusive to *Me*; they may not, perhaps, do so to *You*: and therefore, in the last place, it is but fair and just to observe; that, whether the Fathers of the *Christian* Church have judged rightly or not of these Texts, on which they have founded the Worship of *Christ* upon the express Command of *God*; and whether I have reasoned properly or not in deducing the Rectitude of it from his high Station, Character and *Spiritual* Dominion, as being constituted King and Heir of all things; yet it is certain that *Christ* is no-where *directly* commanded to be prayed-to, through the whole *New Testament*(*d*): and I am credibly informed; that many of those, who allow it to be defensible, yet do not consider it as a Duty; and very seldom, if ever, practise it; Considering, that *God* and *Christ* are in this respect *One* and the same; and that the Kingdom of *Christ* is still the Kingdom of *God*, though he has constituted *Christ* to be King of it. For the Heavenly Kingdom can no more be given out of his power, by conferring it on *Christ*; than an Earthly Kingdom can be made

(*d*) I observe, says Mr. *Emlyn*, no one instance of Prayer to *Jesus Christ*, when absent, either required in the Precept, or reported in the Example, through the whole *New Testament*; only what is supposed under the general Phrase of calling on his Name. *Emlyn's Tracts*: Vol. I P. 55.

inde-



independent of *Him*, by bestowing it on *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Cyrus*, or *Alexander*; and therefore our Prayers may still be directed to the *supreme* God, without any derogation from the Honour due to *Christ*: nay, they must be so; if they regard our future State, beyond the duration of the *αἰών*, or *Age* of the *Messiah*: for then shall *Christ* deliver-up to the *Father* that Kingdom, which he received from him; that *God* may be all in all(*e*). In the mean time, they think it most proper to direct their Prayers to the *supreme* God himself, through *Jesus Christ*; as the Mediator between *God* and *Man*: this being the way, in which *Christ* directed them to pray.

The Opinion of *Origen* upon this Subject, is as follows. We ought to pray to *God* only, but not *without* our High-priest; we ought not to pray [that is, *ultimately*] to him, who is appointed by the *Father* to be our High-priest and

(*e*) I Cor. xv. 28. *Christ* himself REIGNS; [*Βασιλεύει*] or has a Kingdom properly his own, till that time; [*viz.* the General Resurrection] but after that cometh the End: when, having made a solemn distribution of Rewards and Punishments to his Subjects, he shall deliver up his Kingdom to the *Father*.—When he delivers up his *Kingdom*, he does in effect really deliver up to his *Father* all things implied in it; his Royal Dignity and Rule, as such; and the Body of his Subjects also; as now no longer His Kingdom, in the peculiar sense in which they were so before. Bishop *Hoadly's* Answer to the Dean of *Worcester's* Sermon; p. 108, 106.

H h h

whom



whom the *Father* hath made our Advocate; but to the *Father*, *through* our High-priest and Advocate, [or Comforter(*f*).] And again; we ought to send-up Supplication, and Prayers, and Intercession, and Thanksgiving to the *Supreme* God over all; *through* our High-priest, the Living Word and God; who is above all *Angels*: yet we may also offer Supplications, and Intercessions, and Thanksgivings, and Prayers, to the *Word himself*; if we can distinguish between Prayer in a proper, and Prayer in a figurative sense(*g*). And what he means by this distinction, he clearly explains in another place; viz. “We Worship the One God, and his Son, and Word, and Image, with Supplication and Prayers, to the utmost of our Power: putting-up our Prayers to the God of the Universe, *through* his only-begotten Son; to whom we offer them first: desiring him, as being the Propitiation of our Sins, to present to our High-priest our Prayers and Sacrifices, (Thanksgivings,) and Intercessions to the *supreme* God(*b*).”

The Observation of the learned Bishop Bull, upon these two Passages of Origen, is as follows. “I wonder, that these places of Origen should offend the learned Huetius; in which Places (to confess the Truth) I always thought, for my own part; that the *Catholic* Doctrine, concerning the Person and Office of Our Saviour,

(*f*) *De Orat.* p. 50, 51, &c.

(*g*) *Lib. V.* p. 233.

(*b*) *Adv. Cels.* *Lib. VIII.* p. 386.



was well explained(*i*).” It appears from these Comments; that the Worship paid to *Christ*, and to *God* through him, as through the *alone* Mediator, is not a separate and independent Worship of the Person of *Christ*; but a Part of the Worship of the *Father*, by His Command, and to His Glory(*k*).

I have now proved; in my second Letter, from the Scripture, (which in many Texts is unintelligible, upon any other principle:) that the *Jehovah*, who appeared to our Fathers, and carried-on the Government of the World, during all the former Dispensations; was the *Angel* of the *Covenant*:

And I have shewn, in this Letter; that the many Texts which I referred-to in proof of it, were so understood by the most ancient as well as the modern Interpreters of the Old Testament; both *Jews* and *Christians*.

And though it may be imagined, and perhaps true; that some of the Texts, which I have interpreted of the Angel *Jehovah*, ought to be explained of *God* the *Father*: yet this Objection can be of no weight, as to the general Argument; because, as I have observed, (and I lay the greatest stress upon it;) if it appear manifestly in any *one* Text, that the *Jehovah* men-

(*i*) *Defen.* Sect. ii. Cap. ix. § 15. (*k*) Observations on Dr. *Waterland*'s second Defence; p. 79. *Whitby*'s Last Thoughts; p. 73.



tioned in the Old Testament was the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; and not the *Jehovah*, who sent that *Angel*; that same *Jehovah-Angel* must always be understood, wherever he is spoken-of, to be the same *identical* Person, the same *metaphysical*, *conscious* Substance, through the *whole* Revelation: And what farther confirms this, is; that the Name of *Jehovah* seems to have been never put upon any more than One *Angel*: and no other will appear to be called by that Name, through the whole Scripture(*l*).

So that we may safely conclude, from the whole; that all the affairs of Mankind, relative to the Government of the *Jews* and *Christians*, have been carried-on by the same *Being*; either in *Person*, or by His *Angels*; who appeared to our Forefathers, and conversed with them; to wit; the *Logos*, or *Word* of *God*.

It remains to be proved; that the very *same* Person was born of the Virgin *Mary*, and appeared in the Character of *Messiah*: or, in other Words, that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* is the *Christ*: that to him the Prophecies of the *Messiah*, and the return of the *Jehovah* Angel to bring-in a new Covenant, do properly belong; and are incapable of a Completion in any other *Person*—Or, in the Words of *Clemens Alexand.* part of which I have already quoted;

(*l*) *Euseb.* Eccl. Hist. B. I. ch. ii. quoted.



and the other Part shall be reserved to the next Letter: that, “ the *Word* is the *Face* of *God*; by whom he manifests himself, and makes himself known. The Ancients had the Old Testament, and the Law instructed them by Fear; and the *Word* was an *Angel*: Λόγος ᾿Αγγελος ὢν. But the New People have received the New Testament; καὶ Λόγος γεγένηται and the *Word* is made or begotten; and the *Fear* is turned into *Love*; καὶ ὁ μυσικὸς ἐκεῖνος ᾿Αγγελος τέλειται and that mystical *Angel* is born.” *Pædag.* Lib. I. Cap. vii. Page 110, 111.

POST-



## P O S T S C R I P T

T O

## THE THIRD LETTER.

**T**O confirm what I have advanced above, in the second and third Letters, it may be proper to take notice; how those Writers, who assert that *Christ* is the *supreme* God, or a *mere* Man, are forced to defend their Opinions, by denying the most essential Articles of *Christianity*; and, after all their Evasions, are not able to explain themselves upon any other Principles, than those which I have maintained.

1<sup>st</sup>. We are told, by *Christ* himself; that he *came down* from Heaven, from the *Father*; but by the Philosophical *Christians*, who suppose him to be the *supreme* God, we are inform'd; that this was impossible: because, being of the same Substance with the *Father*, he is *omni-present*; and incapable of *local* Transition. This was the Answer, which was given by the  
Fathers



Fathers to *Apollinaris*(a); as I observed in my first Letter; and the modern Divines speak in the same manner.

Dr. *South* says, it is impossible for his *divine* Nature to *come* [down from Heaven]; because, “*coming* is a Motion from the place where one *is*, to the place in which he *was not before*; whereas *Infinity*, the property of the divine *Nature*, implies a presence *to all places*.” To which it was replied; one would think then, if *Christ* came down at all, it must have been in his *human* Nature. No, says Dr. *South*; that which did not exist, before it was in the World, cannot properly be said to *come* into the World; any more than the Fruit that grows upon a Tree(b).

Dr. *Sherlock* owns, that it is a Mystery to him; how an *infinite* Being, that fills *all* Places, can be said really to *descend* and *ascend*: and that properly it cannot be(c). And Bishop *Fowler*, in his Book of the Descent of the Man *Jesus*, says; How could He properly be said to *come down* from Heaven, who could not for a Moment be *out* of Heaven; any more than *God the Father*, from whom he is *inseparable*(d)? And the Reason he gives, is; that the whole Universe is filled with his Presence(e). It fol-

(a) *King*, on the Creed; p. 245. (b) *Emlyn's* Tracts; Vol. II. p. 179. (c) *Ibid.* 187. (d) *Descent*, &c. p. 102. and Part 2d. page 28. (e) *Ibid.* 23, 24, 28.



lows from hence; either that the Son of Man *did not*, because he *could not*, descend from Heaven; or else, that these *Christians* argue from a false Philosophy. But to go-on:

2d. We find, in the New Testament; that *Christ* being in the Form of *God*, emptied himself [of that Form] ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, and took upon him the Form of a *Servant*; and being found in fashion as a *Man*, humbled himself(*f*). And agreeably to this Doctrine, we are told by the same Apostle—"You know the Grace of our Lord *Jesus Christ*; that though he was Rich, yet for your sakes he became Poor, that ye, through his Poverty, might be Rich(*g*)."  
This plain Doctrine is either denied, or made an inexplicable Mystery. Bishop *Bull*, speaking of the συγκατάθεσις of *Christ* to create, of which the Fathers speak, says; Explain to me the κένωσις and συγκατάθεσις of the *Word*, or *Son of God*; by which he *came-out* from the *Father*, and *descended* from Heaven, and was incarnate; and I will explain to you the other συγκατάθεσις to wit, that we may both expose ourselves [*insaniamus*] by prying into the Mysteries of *God*(*b*).

Dr. *More* says; "it has racked many Men's Minds, to conceive; how an *exinanition*, or *emptying* Himself, can belong to the *eternal* and

(*f*) *Phil.* ii.  
Op. p. 232.

(*g*) *II Cor.* viii. 9.

(*b*) *Bull*



*immutable* God, by becoming Man; which the Text seems to point-at(*i*).” And Bishop *Fowler* says; “How can He, who is *absolutely unchangeable*, be said to have *emptied himself*? This was *absolutely impossible*(*k*).” And again; “With what propriety of Speech can it be said of *God*, that he was *rich*; as if he could ever be otherwise: or that he became *poor*?” On the other hand; “in what sense can it be said of *Man*, [or *Christ* in his humane Nature] that he was *rich*; if he never was in a richer state than when on Earth, which was always extremely *poor*(*l*)?”

And again; upon *Christ's* Prayer to *God*(*m*), “Glorify me with thine ownself; with the Glory which I had with Thee, before the World was;” he says; “*Christ*, as *God*, could never be without that Glory in Heaven, the Restoration of which is here prayed for; and *Christ*, as *Man*, could not pray to be *restored* to it, on supposition he *never had* it(*n*). And how, says his Lordship, can that be said of *both* the Natures of *Christ*; which belongs to *neither*? To apply the Commutation of [Properties or] Idioms to this and such like Texts, looks like doing any thing to help at a dead lift. Since we have seen these Words, “He

(*i*) Descent of the Man *Jesus*; p. 120.

(*k*) Ibid.

52. (*l*) Ibid. 98.

(*m*) *John* xvii. 5.

(*n*) Des-

cent, &c. p. 40.



was rich," cannot be meant of *Christ*, as *God*; so neither can they be said of Him, as *Man*; if He never was, before he came into this poor State(o)."

This being the Case; his Lordship saw, the Doctrine contained in these Texts could not be explained agreeably to the common Notions of the Orthodox; upon which he says very honestly, that, rather than believe this of *Jehovah*, [*viz.* that he put-off his Glory] he should be tempted to be an *Arian*; which he hopes he never shall be(p). On the other hand, he could not explain them according to the *Socinian* Doctrine; because it allows of no Glory *before the World was*, which *Christ* had to quit: and his Lordship, was not satisfied with the *Apollinarian* Scheme, [the only one that can explain the Difficulty;] because he thought it did not allow, that *Christ* was ever a *Man*. Surrounded thus with Difficulties on all sides, he found it necessary to adopt a new Hypothesis, unknown to the Scriptures; and founded upon mere Fancy and Invention: *viz.* "That the Soul of the *Messias elect* was happily united, before the generation of Men, with the *Logos*; and resplendent with cœlestial Glory and Beauty, among the *Angels* in Heaven." This Hypothesis, says He from Dr. *More*, will give a very easy and natural sense to

(o) Descent, &c. p. 99.

(p) Ibid. 40, 41.



fundry places in the New Testament; that otherwise seem very obscure: as that of *Phil.* ii. 6, 7, 8. for it hath racked many Men's Minds, to conceive; how an *exinanition*, or *emptying Himself*, can belong to the *eternal immutable* God, by becoming Man; which the Text points-at: But may very well belong to the Soul of the *Messias*; who was truly *God*, by a Physical Unity with the *Godhead*(*q*)."

This Hypothesis consists of two Parts: first, that the Soul of the *Messias*, that is, (as it is commonly called) the *human* Soul, had Glory in Heaven before the World began; which Glory it left: upon which I shall make the following Observations.

1. It cannot be proved from the New Testament; that *Christ* had any *other* Soul or Spirit, besides the *Logos* or *Word* of *God*, which animated the human Body: and it appears from Reason; that one Spirit is sufficient for one Body, in order to form that Being which is called a Man.

2. We read nothing in the New Testament, of the *Præexistence* of any Soul of *Christ*, different from the *Logos*; either before or after the generation of Man. Consequently,

3. We read nothing of its happy State or resplendence with celestial Glory and Beauty with the Angels: Nor of its *leaving* that Glory.

(*q*) Descent, &c. p. 120.



All this, from the beginning to the end, is mere Invention.

The second Part of Dr. *More's* Hypothesis, necessary to be supposed, in order to complete it, and explain these Texts, is this; that “the *præ-existent Soul of Christ* was by a Physical Union *united* to the *Godhead*.” This was necessary to be supposed, in order to prove, by a *Commutation* of Idioms; that, because the *Soul of Christ* was *rich* in its *præ-existent* State, it might be said of *Christ*, who was united to it, that *he* was rich; and, because the *Soul* emptied itself of its Glory, it might be said of *Christ*, that *he* emptied himself of his Glory.

But here the Hypothesis meets another Check; for it has never yet been proved, nor can it be proved, that there ever was such a *Physical Union* between the *Logos* and the *human Soul*: the plain Scripture Doctrine, that the *Word was made Flesh*; or took a human Body, which *God* had prepared for him; being sufficient to answer all the Texts upon that Subject in the New Testament: And his Lordship having “undertaken to give a clear Demonstration, that *Jesus* is united to the Divinity;” has abundantly failed in it.

But let us consider his Lordship's Reasoning upon the Subject: and First, he says; “How could *He*, the *Logos*, be born in the human Flesh; otherwise than as he united the Soul of  
*Jesus,*



*Jesus*, which informed this Flesh, unto Himself; unless we can imagine with *Apollinaris*, that *Himself was the Soul of this Body?*—Very true: and what Objection can be made to this?

“Why, his Lordship says; the Consequence of this Doctrine, [*viz.* that the *Word of God* is the *Soul of the Messias*] is this; that *Jesus* never was a *Man*.” P. 50.

But his Conclusion here is too hasty; It hath been proved already, in my first Letter; that in the Scripture sense of the Word *Man*, it means in general no more than a *spiritual Being in a human Body*; according to which Definition, the *Logos* or *Word of God* incarnate, was a *real Man*; as much as any other Person ever was. And indeed he became a *Man* more properly by taking on him the Body which *God* had prepared for him; and consisting only of *one* Body, and *one* Spirit, as other Men do; than if he had joined himself to a Soul and Body together: which would not have made him a *Man*, in any sense of the Word; but a compound Being of a different Nature, to which there is no Name.

The second Argument, to prove the *Union* of the *Divinity* with the *human Soul*, is taken from *Phil. ii.* where it is said of *Christ*, that he emptied himself of his Glory; which, his Lordship says, cannot be said of the *supreme God*



*God*, nor of the *human Soul*, except he was in a præ-existent State; and consequently proves the præexistence of *Christ*, as a Man to whom the *Logos* was united. But this it does not prove; for the *Logos* might as well empty himself of his Glory, which we know he had with *God*; as the imaginary præexistent Soul, which we know nothing of(*a*).

The third Argument his Lordship uses, is taken from the Doxologies in Scripture: but these are all consistent with the Glory due to the Obedience and Sufferings of the Lamb that was slain; and do by no means prove him incapable of laying aside his Glory, and humbling himself; as the Scripture hath described.

At length the Bishop, after labouring the point without success, concludes; that, “if the Soul of *Christ* be *not* in Union with the divine *Logos*, it can only have a *human Nature*: except, as we said, the *Logos* be his *Soul*; and then he has only the *divine Nature embodied*(*b*).”

Here his Lordship has granted at once, all that can be desired; to shew, that his Hypothesis is not wanted. For, if we put this last Objection into other words, it will run thus; except the *Logos* be his *Soul*; and then he will only be *God incarnate*:” [or *God*, manifest in the *Flesh*:] for the *divine Nature embodied* must mean *God incarnate*. And this is sufficient to explain every thing that is said of this *Emmanuel*,

(*a*) Ib. p. 29.      (*b*) Ib. 55.



plainly and literally through the whole New Testament; without recourse to any far-fetched or unintelligible Hypothesis, of *Two* Persons made into *One*; or a *Præexistence* of the human Soul.

But, supposing both the *Præexistence* of the human Soul, and the *Union* of it with the Divinity, could be proved; yet the Difficulty, upon his Lordship's Hypothesis, who supposes the *Logos* to be the *supreme* God, still remains. His first Objection to the Descent of the *Logos*, before the Union with the Soul of *Christ*, was this:

“How could He properly be said to *come down* from Heaven; who could not for a Moment *be out* of Heaven, any more than *God the Father*?”

P. 23, 24. And yet he asserts the *Descent* of the *eternal Word*, in *union* with the *Soul of Christ*, as a matter of no difficulty; [P. 53.] just as the ancient Fathers objected to *Apollinaris*, that *Christ* could not descend into Hell in his *Divine Nature*; and yet did accompany his *Soul* thither.

But here are *Two* unsurmountable Difficulties to the Hypothesis; and to all of the like Nature.

*First*; how the *third* Person of the *Trinity*, if he be *supreme* God should be capable of *local* Motion, without union with the human Soul; and not the *second*: for I should hope, the *Christians* will not be so hardy as to deny the *literal* Descent of the *Holy Ghost* in Person; and tell us, that



that *He* also descended only ἐν ἐνερσίᾳ\* as they speak of *Christ's* Descent. And *Secondly*; how the *second* Person should become more capable of it, *after* the Union with the *Soul* of *Christ*; than he was before. These two Objections are unanswerable.

III. We are told in the New Testament; that *Christ* hath *suffered* for our Sins(*r*). But the *philosophical* Divines have made this Doctrine incredible; by declaring him to be *selfexistent* and *impassible*. *Hilary* declares, as I have before observed(*s*); that He was free from all Pain, because he was *God*: and Bishop *Pearson* says; the Sufferings of *Christ* were not the Sufferings of his *Deity*, but of his *Humanity*; for the *divine* Essence suffered not: which is the same thing as to confess, that the Sufferings were not undergone by *the Word*, who was in the beginning with God, and descended from Heaven; but by a *mere Man*, who had never been in Heaven.

IV. We are told, in the New Testament; that *Christ* died for us: and this seems to be the most fundamental Article of *Christianity*; and yet this is denied by many of the *philosophical* Divines: not indeed in direct words, but as they deny his *Sufferings*; that is, in obscure and abstruse Terms: which, when explained, are capable of no other meaning. Bishop *Pear-*

(*r*) I *Peter* iii. 18.  
XXV. p. 216.

(*s*) Letter I. p. 95; and Note



*son* says; “ although *Christ* was more than *Man*, (*i. e.* by the Conjunction with the *Logos*) yet he *died* no more than *Man* can die. A *Separation* was made between his *Soul* and *Body*; but no *Disunion* to *them* and his *Deity*. The *Word* was once indeed without *Soul* or *Body*; but, after it was made *Flesh*, it never parted from the one or the other(*t*). ”

So then, it seems, the *Deity* was not separated, either from the *Soul* or *Body*; and, if that be the Truth, the *Deity* who came down from Heaven, did not *die*; but only that part of him, which was *Human*, and had never descended from Heaven; that is, a mere *Man*.—And even *that* Part, which he says *did* die, yet he tells us, was never *separated* from the *Deity*.

Thus, by the Divines, who are looked upon to be *Orthodox*, the *Descent* of *Christ* from Heaven is *denied*; under a Notion of his *Omnipresence*, and incapacity of *local* Transition: his *Humiliation* is *denied*; by asserting his *Immutability*: his *Sufferings* are *denied*; by declaring his Substance to be *impassible*: and that he did not suffer in the *divine*, but only in the *human* Nature: and they *deny* his *Death*; under the Notion that the *Deity* was never separated either from *Soul* or *Body*. All which Opinions end in *Socinianism*; and suppose, that the *Word* of *God*, which came down from Heaven, did not *suffer* and *die*; but a mere

(*t*) *Pearson* on the Creed, p. 213.



*Man.* And herein they not only oppose the plain Doctrines of *Scripture*; but, what at other times they exalt as the Criterion of the *Christian* Faith; I mean the Opinion of the *ancient Fathers*: and this they do, merely to maintain a Doctrine which was first decreed to be *Orthodox* at the Council of *Nice*, in 325; and had been condemned at *Antioch* as *Heretical*, about forty years before, by eighty Bishops; in the Case of *Paulus Samosatenus*.

I should not have entered so far into this Argument; had it not been absolutely necessary to clear my Subject from the Objections *à priori*, which arise from the *Homousian* Doctrine; before I undertook to lay before you the Evidence, upon which I embrace *Christianity*. For, if *Christ* be the *supreme* God, as some Divines suppose; it is impossible to stir a single step forward in proof of his *Descent* from Heaven, His *Conception*, His *Humiliation*, His *Sufferings* and *Death*: All these things are *declared* of Him, in the *New Testament*, and *foretold* of Him in the *Old*: and all of them are absolutely impossible to be undergone by a Being, that is *infinite*, *unchangeable*, and *impassible*.

And therefore, instead of attempting to explain the *Christian* System by the Philosophy of these Divines; I shall entirely neglect them: and trust, (as the *Arian* and *Scripturarian* Heretics are accused of having done) to the *Scriptures*



tures only: following the Rule of *Hilary* entirely—

*Non creditur Philosophis: creditur Piscatoribus.*

See this Subject more fully examined in the VIHth Letter, upon the Generation of *Jesus Christ*.

The title of the second chapter of *Eusebius's* Ecclesiastical History is this, “A brief Summary  
“ concerning the Præexistence and *Divinity*(*u*)  
“ of our Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*.”

In this chapter, *Eusebius* calls *Christ* “the chief  
“ Captain of the rational and immortal Host in  
“ Heaven; the Angel of the great Council; the  
“ Minister(*x*) of the secret Will of the Father;  
“ Maker and Worker of all Things together with  
“ the Father; who, after the Father, is Cause  
“ and Author of all Things; the true and only  
“ begotten Son of God; *Lord, God, and King*  
“ of all Creatures; receiving Dominion and  
“ Rule from the Father, together with Divini-  
“ ty(*y*), Power, and Honour; according to the  
“ Mystical and Divine Expressions of the Scrip-  
“ ture concerning him: In the beginning was  
“ the Word, &c. And great *Moses* doth shew

(*u*) Θεολογίας. Here we see, that *Eusebius* understood the *Divinity* of *Christ* to be consistent with all that follows of his ministring to the Father's commands, &c. but by no means to infer an Equality with the Father.

(*x*) υπεργον some MSS. read τελειωτην, finisher.

(*y*) θεοτης.



“ the same, viz. that God the Father of the  
 “ World and Architect of all, granted to *Christ*  
 “ himself and to no other, *i. e.* to his divine and  
 “ only begotten Word, the making of inferior  
 “ Creatures, and that he conferred with him  
 “ about the Creation of Man. He introduces  
 “ the Father and Maker commanding as universal  
 “ Lord with his royal beck; but the Word next  
 “ to him, not different from him who is preach-  
 “ ed by us in all things ministring to the Father’s  
 “ commands(*z*)—and he being in no wise sloth-  
 “ ful about his Father’s Worship, was appointed  
 “ a Master to teach all Men the Knowledge of  
 “ his Father. The Lord God therefore appear-  
 “ ed in the likeness of Man unto *Abraham*, as he  
 “ sat at the Oak of *Mamre*; but he forthwith  
 “ falling down upon his face, although with the  
 “ outward eye he beheld but Man, worshipped  
 “ him as God, and made Supplication to him as  
 “ Lord. And that he was not ignorant who He  
 “ was, he professeth, when he uttered these words,  
 “ O Lord, which judgest the earth, wilt thou  
 “ not judge rightly?” For if it be contrary to  
 “ reason that either the unbegotten or immuta-  
 “ ble Substance(*a*) of God *Almighty* should trans-  
 “ form himself into the likeness of Man, and so  
 “ by an Appearance in a bodily shape, deceive  
 “ the eyes of the beholders, or that the Scrip-

(*z*) παρρησιας ἐπιτασσειν ὑπαγυῖλα.

(*a*) εἶσα.

“ ture



“ ture should feign fuch things falſely ; then who  
 “ elſe can be called that God and Lord that  
 “ judgeth the whole Earth and executeth judg-  
 “ ment, appearing *in the ſhape of Man*, but only  
 “ his præ-exiſtent Word ? (for is it not lawful  
 “ to ſay it of the *fiſt Author* of all things) the  
 “ ſame of whom it is ſaid in the *Pſalm*, “ He  
 “ ſent his Word, and healed them,” &c. The  
 “ ſame *Mofes* called Lord next after the Father,  
 “ *Gen.* xix. 24. “ The Lord rained brimſtone  
 “ and fire from the Lord out of Heaven,”  
 “ whom the divine Scripture calleth God, *Gen.*  
 “ xxxii. 28, 30. Moreover neither is it lawful  
 “ once to ſurmife, that the apparitions of God  
 “ in the Scripture may be all attributed to the  
 “ inferior Angels and Miniſters of God : for if  
 “ any of them appeared unto Men, the Scripture  
 “ doth not conceal the ſame expreſſly ; not ſay-  
 “ ing that *God* or *the Lord*, but that *Angels* ſpake ;  
 “ as may be confirmed by innumerable Teſti-  
 “ monies. This ſame Perſon alſo doth *Jeſus* the  
 “ ſucceſſor of *Mofes* term the chief Captain of  
 “ the great power of the Lord ; as Prince of  
 “ ceſtial Angels and Archangels, and all ſuper-  
 “ natural Powers ; as being the Power and  
 “ Wiſdom of the Father ; and to whom the ſe-  
 “ cond place of the Rule and Government of all  
 “ Things is committed, when as he beheld him  
 “ in no other form or figure than of Man ; for  
 “ thus it is written, *Joſ.* v. 13, 14. By theſe  
 “ words



“ words thou mayest perceive that this Person  
 “ did not differ from him who delivered his Ora-  
 “ cles to *Moses*: for of him also the Scripture  
 “ speaketh the same words. *Ex.* iii. 4, 5, 6(*b*).”

(*b*) *Valesius* in this place quotes an ancient Scholion, referred-to in the Note in p. 354. The Scholion is as follows, “ The Church, O holy *Eusebius*, thinks otherwise concerning this, and not as thou dost: For the Church concludes Him who appeared to *Moses* in the Bush to be God; but him who appeared to *Moses*’ successor in *Jericho*, to whom the Presidency of the *Hebrews* was allotted, who had his sword drawn, and commanded *Joshua* to put off his Shoe, Him, I say, the Church supposes to be *Michael* the Archangel. And it is manifest, it thinks righter than thou. Whence is this gathered? God, who appeared in the form of fire, being asked by his Servant *Moses* who he was; most evidently declared this unto him, that he was God. But he that appears to *Joshua*, in no wise styles himself God; but calls himself God’s chief Captain. But this dignity being inferior to the Supreme Power and Divinity, and being not regal but belonging to a General, as one would say” \* \* \* \* \* The rest of the MS. is illegible.

Upon this reasoning I would observe, first, that the word God is not only used of *Jehovah* himself, but also, of his Angel, in whom he put his Name, and who was therefore called by his Name, as he is in this chapter.—2d. that the Person who appeared in the Bush is called the Angel of *Jehovah* in the 2d verse, which is a title inferior to the Supreme Power and Divinity, and is never given to the Supreme God and Father of all.—3d. that as this same Person is called by the Name of *Jehovah*, it can mean no other than the *Jehovah Angel* in whom the supreme *Jehovah* had put his Name; or the *Logos*, supposed to be called the Captain of God’s Host and *Michael*. See Note (*t*), Letter III. p. 353, “ Mr. Ainsworth,” &c.

Now



Now that there is a certain Substance, [*σὺς*] living and subsisting before the foundations of the world were laid, which ministred to the Father and God of all, at the Creation of all Creatures, termed the Word or Wisdom of God, see *Prov.* viii. 12, 15, 16—22, 23, &c.

*Eusebius* farther says; “ when the Wickedness  
 “ of the World was come to a height, then the  
 “ præ-existent Word, out of his abundant lov-  
 “ ing kindness unto men, appeared sometimes  
 “ by Vision of Angels, unto the inhabitants of  
 “ earth; sometimes by himself, as the saving  
 “ Power of God unto one or two of the ancients,  
 “ which were beloved of God, in no other form  
 “ than that of a *Man*, for otherwise it could not  
 “ have been. Afterwards He, by the prophet  
 “ *Moses*, delivered figures and signs of Circum-  
 “ cision, &c. Afterwards the same Person ma-  
 “ nifested himself about the beginning of the  
 “ *Roman* Empire in Human Shape, and therein  
 “ wrought such things as were consonant with  
 “ the oracles of the Prophets. The Prophet  
 “ *Daniel* by divine Spirit, beholding his King-  
 “ dom which shall be in the latter age of the  
 “ world, hath thus described the Vision of God,  
 “ *Dan.* vii. 7, 9, 10, 13, 14. These things mani-  
 “ festly can be referred to none other, than to  
 “ our Saviour, the Word that was in the begin-  
 “ ning with God, God the Word, termed the Son  
 “ of Man by reason of his Incarnation in the  
 “ later times.”

End of the THIRD LETTER.







---

## LETTER THE FOURTH.

---

Profecto aderit Tempus, cum *Judæi* in rectam semitam reducentur; qui nunc errant misere, ignorantia viæ. Nondum omnes dierum Soles occiderunt: Fulgebit illis quoque iterum sua Lux. Cecidisse eos, non Excidisse, certum est.

CUNÆUS, de Rep. *Hebr.* p. 113.

---

I HAVE given you my Reasons already, in my second Letter; why I believe the *Angel of the Covenant* to be the *Messiah*: and I am now to shew, upon what Evidence I believe the same Person, to be *that* JESUS; whom the *Christians* acknowledge to be the **CHRIST**: that he came into the World, according to the Promise which he made to our Fathers in the Person of the Visible *Jehovah*, “to make a new Covenant with the house of Israel,



Israel, *and with the house of Judah*(a); within the time limited by the Prophets for the *Messiah's* Advent; and in that afflicted state, in which he is sometimes represented in *our* Scriptures; and was despised, and rejected, and put to Death, by the Rulers of *our* Nation; but was received by the *Gentiles*, and many of *our* Fathers; who were gathered to him, as their Lord and King: and began to set-up that Kingdom, which is to rule over all; and is to last to the End of Ages.

I am satisfied, you have no more doubt than I have, of the Truth of what is asserted by *Maimonides* and *Abravanel*; that the coming of the *Messiah* is declared in the Law and the Prophets(b): and all the Prophets, from *Moses* to *Malachi*,

(a) *Jer.* xxxi. 31. compared with *Zech.* ii. 10, 11.

(b) See *Abravanel* de Cap. Fidei, cap. xiv. where he gives his Reasons, why *Maimonides* considered the coming of the *Messiah* as an Article of Faith; and particularly Rat. 3. Quia adventus *Messiae* expositus erat in Lege, Prophetis, & Hagiographis. Dominus enim noster *Moses*, & omnes Prophetæ qui eum consecuti sunt, de illo testantur; & qui hoc modo locuti sunt per Spiritum S. omnes illi conveniunt, prænunciant, atque loquuntur de adventu Regis *Messiae*: Sicuti etiam idem probavi perfectâ atque perspicuâ demonstratione, in Tract. *Schamiab Jescherha*, quem de adventu *Messiae* concinnavi. Quapropter qui negat ejus adventum, certe is negat ipsam Legem, Prophetas, atque Hagiographos; quia isti omnes de eo testati sunt. Et propter hanc probationem oportet hanc Fidem numerare inter articulos Legis.



*Malachi*, have prophesied of scarce any thing else. Nor can it be denied; that, about the time when *Jesus* appeared, there was a very high Expectation; that some one from *Judæa* should gain the dominion over all. For the Truth of this, we have not only the Authority of the *Christian* Scriptures; but also of *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and *Josephus*.

The words of *Josephus* are these(c); “ That which chiefly excited them [i. e. the *Jews*] to this war, was an ambiguous Prophecy, which was ALSO found in the Sacred Writings; that, about that time, some one of them from their Country would rule the World. For this they understood to relate to their own Nation(d); and

See also *Poli Synopf. ad Dan. ix. 24. p. 1520.* In *Talmud* sic scribunt;—Omnes Prophetæ vaticinati sunt de diebus *Messiaë*. *Talm. Helv. n. 93.—Beracoth, c. i. fol. 3. Sanhed. c. xi.*

(c) *Josephus* de Bell. *Jud. lib. VI. c. v. 4.* τὸ δὲ ἐπάρξαν αὐτὰς μάλιστα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἦν Χρησμός ἀμφίβολος ὁμοίως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς εὐρημένος γραμμασιν, ὥς κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας τις αὐτῶν ἀρξέει τῆς οἰκουμένης· τῷτο οἱ μὲν ὥς οἰκεῖον ἐξέλαβον· καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν σοφῶν ἐπλανήθησαν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν. Ἐδήλως δ’ ἄρα περὶ τῷ Οὐεσπασιανῷ τὸ λόγιον, ἡγεμονίαν ἀποδειχθέντος ἐπὶ Ἰουδαίας αὐτοκράτορος, &c.

(d) This being the fact; that the *Jews* interpreted this Prophecy to concern themselves; (*sibi interpretate, & ad se trahentes*) which they had good reason to do, from many other Prophecies in the Scriptures; I cannot see why the Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Dr. Chandler*,



and many wise Men were deceived with the Interpretation. But in truth, *Vespasian's* Empire was designed in this prophesy; who was created Emperor in *Judæa*."

*Tacitus* says; most of them, [the *Jews*] had a Notion, that it was contained in the ancient Books of the Priests; that at that very time, [*viz.* when *Jerusalem* was besieged] the East should grow powerful; and some from *Judæa* should gain the Dominion; &c(e)."

*Suetonius* says; "an old and constant opinion had been received, and prevailed all over the East; that it was decreed by the Fates that at *that* time *Judæa* should gain the Dominion over all:" and adds; "the *Jews*, taking that to regard themselves, which appeared by the Event to be predicted of the *Roman* Empire, rebelled(f)."

The  
has translated the word ἐκλαμβάνειν, to receive by Tradition. *Scapula* explains it by *percipio, excipio*; i. e. *interpreter, intelligo*. *Tacitus* says, *more humanæ Cupidinis*; i. e. their *Wishes* were the Father to that Interpretation. But Tradition was quite out of the Question.

(e) *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis Sacerdotum libris contineri; eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens; profectique Judæâ rerum potirentur. Quæ ambages Vespasianum & Titum prædixerunt. Sed Vulgus, more humanæ cupidinis, Sibi tantam Fatorum magnitudinem interpretati, ne adversis quidem ad vera mutantur. Hist. lib. V. c. xiii.*

(f) *Percrebuerat Oriente toto vetus & constans Opinio; esse in Fatis, ut eo tempore Judæâ profecti rerum poti-*



The Account here given us, shews; that either these two *Romans* had the History of *Josephus* before them: or else, that there were then extant some other Writings; which were consulted by them all three. This appears not only from their saying the same thing in so similar a manner, but from the very words themselves; *Sibi interpretati*, and *ad se trahentes*, being each of them a translation of ὡς οἰκεῖον ἐξέλαβον. And neither of them refer primarily to the original Prophecy, nor to any private History; but to common Fame. *Tacitus* says, most of the *Jews* had a Notion; &c. *Suetonius* says, it was an old and constant Opinion that prevailed: and even *Josephus* does not refer immediately to the sacred Books; but to an ambiguous Prophecy, which was *also* [ὁμοίως] found in the *sacred* Books. So that they all agree, that it was a common Report; and said to be contained in the *sacred* Books.

It has been much disputed; *what* sacred Books they were, which the *Roman* Authors here refer-to; and imagined by some to have been the Books of the *Sibylls*: because it is supposed; that they spake of a King, who was to rule the World; and to conquer the *Parthians*: and because all the other prophetic

potirentur. Id de Imperio Romano, quantum postea Eventu patuit, prædictum, *Judæi* ad se trahentes rebel-  
larunt. *Vesp.* cap. iv.

Writings



Writings among the *Romans* were looked-upon to be spurious; and ordered to be burned, in the days of *Augustus*(g): and chiefly, because both *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* speak of the *Sibylline* Oracles, under the Titles of *Libri Fatales*, and *Libri Pontificum*.

*Suetonius* tells us, in the Life of *Julius Cæsar*, of an uncertain Rumour; that *L. Cotta*, one of the *Quindecimviri*, intended to opine at the next meeting of the Senate, that *Cæsar* should be called King; because it was contained in the *Libri Fatales*, that the *Parthians* could not be conquered; except by a King(b). And *Dio*, speaking of the same affair, says; there went a report, that the *Quindecimviri* had divulged, that the *Sibyll* had declared, the *Parthians* could not be conquered, except by a King(i).—What *Suetonius* therefore here calls *Libri Fatales*(k), *Dio* calls the Books of the *Sibylls*:

(g) *Solos retinuit Sibyllinos, hos quoque delectu habito; condiditque duobus forulis aureis sub Palatini Apollinis basi. Suet. Aug. p. 31.*

(b) *Appellandum quoque esse Regem; si salvi esse vellemus. Cic. de Divin. II. c. liv. Suet. Jul. p. 79. See the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; p. 472, &c.*

(i) Λόγῳ διελθόντῳ ὡς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν ἐκ καλεμένων διαθρούνων ὅτι ἡ Σίβυλλα εἰρηκῆα εἴη, μήποτε τὰς Παρθὰς ἄλλως πως πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἀλῶναι. *Dio. lib. XLIV.*

(k) *Livy, lib. XXII. ch. lvii. uses the same expression for the Sibylline Books; Decemviri libros adire jussi sunt —Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria*



*Sibylls*: and they farther appear to have been the same, because they were both under the Care of the *Quindecimviri*; who preserved no others.

*Tacitus*(1) says; after the unexpected Death of *Julius Cæsar*, who was supposed to be prophesied-of in the *Sibylls'* books, as the King who should conquer the *Parthians*; it began to be suspected, that some spurious Pieces were gotten abroad; under the celebrated names of the *Sibylls*: and *Tiberius* very severely reprimanded *Gallus* the *Quindecimvir*; for getting one of the *Sibylls'* books to be received in a thin Senate, before it had passed the examination of the College of the fifteen Priests—These therefore were the same Books, which *Suetonius* here calls *Libri Fatales*.

Let us now consider; what books they were, which *Josephus* here refers-to. For as these three Writers all refer us to some *sacred* Books, in which this Prophecy was contained; it is probable, that they all refer to the same books: though the *Romans* might not know, what books they were. However, it is by no means to be supposed; that *Josephus* should call the *Sibylline* Oracles by *that Name*. For the *Jews*

*naria facta*, and ch. x. This was in the second *Punic* War; when these Books were under the care of the *Decimviri*.

(1) *Tacit. Annal. VI. 12.*

neither



neither looked-upon them to be *sacred*; nor, if this report had arisen from *them*, would they have paid any regard to it; much less have made it an occasion of Rebellion. And the Case was the same, with the other Eastern Nations; who would have received no Prophecy, that was not *ancient* and *constant* in *their own Country*; and supported by the Authority of *their own Priests*. Now *Daniel*, in whose Writings this Prophecy is still extant; was constituted Master of the *Magi* by *Nebuchadnezzar*, about the year 600 before *Christ*; and gave out the Prophecy of *Messiah* the Prince, who should reign over all, in the first year of *Darius the Mede*; [*Dan. ix. i.*] and the *Magi* were the established Priests of the *Persian Empire*(*m*).

(*m*) *Magi*, says *Suidas*, is the *Persic* word for *Priests*. Μάγοι παρὰ Πέρσαις οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι and *Hesychius* writes, *Majum a Persis vocari τὸν Θεοσεβῆ καὶ Θεόλογον καὶ Ἱερέα* and *Plato* interprets *Magia*, Θεῶν δευράπειαι. They pretended to Prophecy, and to a particular Intimacy with the Supreme Being; as we are told by *Diogenes Laertius*, in the *Præm*: and therefore it is not probable, they would neglect the opportunity of gaining a Reputation; by espousing the Prophecies of *Daniel*, their *Archimagus*: and preserving such extraordinary marks of the divine favour towards the head of their own sect. And this, by the way, will account for the presents made by the *Magi*, who were at *Jerusalem*, at the Expiration of *Daniel's* seventy weeks; saying, Where is He, that is born King of the *Jews*? for we have seen his Star ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, and are come to worship Him. *Matt. ii. 2.*

But,



But, however this may be, *Josephus* has explained his own meaning; and told us, that by the *Sacred Writings* he means the holy Scriptures. “If any man, says he, be so curious as to enquire into these things; [*i. e.* future Events;] and to understand such matters as are hidden: let him read the Book of *Daniel*; which he will find among the Sacred Writings(*n*).—The Sacred Writings, therefore, which *Josephus* refers-to, is that Collection of Writings; among which the Book of *Daniel* is to be found: and indeed there could be no other writings, which *Josephus* would honour with such a Title; notwithstanding this Prophecy might also have been preserved among the Writings of the *Magi*, and might from thence have spread abroad through the Eastern Countries: which will account for *Josephus*’ making use of the word *ὁμοίως*. It was an ambiguous Prophecy, or a Prophecy of doubtful Interpretation; which was ALSO found in the holy Scriptures. So that we need go no farther to find what the Prophecy is, to which he refers; if it be contained in the Prophecies of *Daniel*. And therefore when *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* refer us, as *Josephus* does, to some sacred Books in which this Prophecy was contained; it seems to be very probable, that they either copied from *Josephus*, or from some other

(*n*) *Jos.* Ant. l. X. c. x. § 4.



Writer; without knowing, where the Original Sacred Writings were to be found. And though it would be very reasonable to conclude; that the *Roman* Writers would have intended the Books of the *Sibylls*, by the words *Libri Fatales*, &c. if they had been speaking of a Report propagated at *Rome*; yet, when they are speaking of a Prophecy, which prevailed in the East, and was believed by the *Jews*; the *Sibylline* Oracles must be out of the Question: and the *Romans* must be supposed to speak of such Books; as were held sacred in the Eastern Countries, and among the *Jews*.

We find, that the Prophecies of the *Cumæan Sibyl* were burned with the Capitol in the time of *Sylla*, U. C. 671; in the year 82 before the *Christian Æra*: and, as no copy was taken of them, neither *Suetonius* nor *Tacitus* could know any thing of their Contents. Soon after this, in the year 67, upon a motion which *Curio* the Consul made in the Senate, other Prophecies of the *Sibylls* were diligently sought out, and brought to *Rome*; as we find by *Fenestella*, cited by *Lactantius* (o): for which purpose *Gabinus*, *Octacilius*, and *Valerius*, were sent to *Erythræ*, *Samos*, &c. who brought about 1000 verses; and they were placed in the Capitol: and many, which were received at that time, were rejected afterwards. Now we have no argument for the

(o) *Simpsoni Chron. Cath.* p. vii. p. 74.



Authenticity of any of these, but the decision of the *Quindecimviri* (p); who were to judge, whether they were genuine or no: and sometimes several of these Judges were not present at the Examination.—This being the Case, it does not seem to be at all material to the cause of *Christianity*; whether the Prophecy, that the *Parthians* could not be conquered, except by a *King*, was in the *Sibylline* Books; or not. Nor can I see any advantage from confounding that Prophecy (which even the *Romans* looked upon as a forgery) with the plain and determinate Prophecies in *Daniel*, of a Prince who should reign over all and the Testimony of these three Writers; which amounts to a proof, that this was an old and constant opinion all over the East; and contained in their Sacerdotal Books. For this in truth is all the question the *Christians* are concerned in. As to the *Sibylline* Books; they were probably either all forged, or else taken from the Prophecies of the Old Testament: For nothing could be more easy, than to put those Prophecies into another form; and then pass them off upon the world as Originals: and I am afraid, there have been times, when neither *Jews* nor *Christians* would have scrupled it, to serve their Cause(q).—But  
to

(p) *Dato Sacerdotibus negotio, quantum humana ope potuissent vera discernere. Tac. An. VI. 12.*

(q) *Greg. Naz. in his poem to Nemefius says. that Hermes Trismegistus, and Sibylla, whatever they predicted*



to go on; If there be any Prophecy of these things in the Scripture, prior to the Events referred-

concerning *God*, did not foretell these things by divine Inspiration, but had them out of the Sacred Books of the *Hebrews*, which they had incidentally perused; and *Valesias* says; these verses concerning *Christ*, were made by idle People, and published about the times of the Emperor *Adrian*. And *Celsus*, who lived under *Mar. Antoninus*; affirms that the Christians had inserted many things into the *Sibylline* oracles. See *Valesius*' Note, in the 18th ch. of *Constantine*'s Oration, p. 652.

The Prophecy of a King, that should conquer the *Partians*; might be framed from the Scriptures, that a King was to reign over all: and thus the Story of *Astyages*' Dream, relating to his Grandson *Cyrus*' becoming a Lord of all *Asia*; recorded by *Justin* [l. I. c. iv.] and the Oracle's answer to *Cræsus*, that, if he passed the *Halys*, he should destroy a great Government; [in the *Clio* of *Herodotus*] and the Prophecy of *Nebuchadnezzar*, mentioned by *Megasthenes*, that a *Persian Mule* should conquer the *Babylonians*; might also be framed: without imagining the Heathens received their Intelligence from Superior Beings. For the Scripture Prophecies, that the *Medes* and *Persians* should conquer *Babylon*, were much earlier than the Days of *Astyages*: and *Cyrus* is mentioned in them as a great Conqueror; as we find by the following Texts. *Is.* xiii. 17. "Behold, I will stir up the *Medes* against them; which shall not regard Silver, and as for Gold they shall not delight in it: Their Bows shall also dash the young Men to pieces, and they shall have no pity on the fruit of the Womb; their Eye shall not spare Children. And *Babylon*, the Glory of Kingdoms, the Beauty of the *Chaldees*' Excellency, shall be as when God overthrew *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*; &c." And *Jeremiah*, li. 11, says; "Make bright



ferred-to; it is of very little consequence, whether we can or cannot account how the *Sibylline* Pro-

bright the Arrows, gather the Shields; the Lord hath raised-up the Spirit of the Kings of the *Medes*: for his Device is against *Babylon*, to destroy it." And again, ver. 27, 28. "Call together against her the Kingdoms of *Ararat*, *Minni*, [or *Armenia*;] and *Aschenaz*, [or *Phrygia Minor*—See Sir *Isaac Newton's* Chronology; p. 323.] appoint a Captain against her; cause the Horses to come up as the rough Caterpillars; prepare against her the Nations; with the Kings of the *Medes*, the Captains thereof, and all the Rulers thereof, and all the Land of his Dominion." And *Isaiab*, in another Prophecy, [*Is.* xxi. 2.] says; "A grievous Vision is declared unto me; the treacherous dealer dealeth treacherously, and the spoiler spoileth; go up. O *Elam*! [or *Persia*] besiege, O *Media*! all the fighting thereof have I made to cease." And this Vision includes the Destruction of *Babylon*, in the 9th verse.

And all this may easily be collected to relate to *Cyrus*, from his being mentioned by Name as a great Conqueror; and God's declaring, that he led him by the hand to Victory. "Thus saith the Lord to his Anointed; to *Cyrus*, whose right hand I have holden to subdue Nations before him; and I will loose the loins of Kings to open before him the two leaved Gates, and the Gates shall not be shut: I will go before Thee, and make the crooked places straight; and I will break in peices the gates of Brass, and cut in sunder the bars of Iron; and I will give Thee the treasures of Darknes, and hidden riches of secret places; that thou mayest know, that I the Lord, who call thee by thy Name, am the God of *Israel*. For *Jacob* my Servant's sake, and *Israel* mine Elect, I have even called Thee by thy Name; I have surnamed Thee, though thou hast not known Me." *Is.* xlv. Now these Prophecies were given, several years before



Prophecies were understood by these *Romans*; or from whence they received the Accounts they give

before either *Cyrus* or *Astyages* were born: and in them we see sufficient *Data*, on which to found the dream of *Astyages*; and the Interpretation of it, with regard to the Conquests of *Cyrus*.

As to what *Megasthenes* says of *Nebuchadnezzar's* Prophecy, that *Cyrus* should reign over *Babylon*; *Nebuchadnezzar* might have collected it from the Prophecies already mentioned, and the great Character and Station of *Cyrus*; [who was then 38 years of age, and Brother-in-law to *Darius* the *Median* [and particularly from the xlvth Chapter of *Isaiab*, where God speaketh of Himself as “Him that confirmeth the Word [or Prophecy] of his Servant, and performeth the Counsel of his Messengers; [ver. 26, 27, 28.] that saith to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be inhabited; and to the Cities of *Judah*, Ye shall be built; and I will raise up the decayed Places thereof; that saith to the Deep, Be dry, and I will dry-up thy Rivers; that saith of *Cyrus*, He is my Shepherd, and shall perform all my pleasure; even saying to *Jerusalem*, Thou shalt be built; and to the Temple, Thy foundation shall be laid.” And ch. xlv. 13. speaking again of *Cyrus*, he saith; “I have raised him up in Righteousness, and will direct all his ways: he shall build my City, and he shall let go my Captives, not for Price nor Reward; saith the Lord of Hosts.”

Now this was as remarkable a Prophecy as *Cyrus's* Conquests to *Nebuchadnezzar*; who had destroyed *Jerusalem*, and the Temple, and then held the People captive; as could possibly be expressed: For he must know, that *Cyrus* could have no power to loose the *Jewish* Captives at *Babylon*, or to build-up the Cities of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*; except He should be Master of the Kingdom of the *Babylonians*.



give us. And therefore, as Dr. Sykes justly observes; “ let the Book of *Daniel* be mangled,  
or

If it be asked, how *Nebuchadnezzar* came to call *Cyrus* a *Persian Mule*; it may be answered, It does not appear that he did so. *Cyrus* was his *Persian* name; and the same by which he is called by *Isaiab*, and spoken-of as a great Conqueror; and probably was the Name by which his Uncle *Nebuchadnezzar* spake of him, as the Conqueror of *Babylon*. But the name *Cyrus*, which in the *Persian* language signifies a *Mule*, might be translated so by the Historians; and thence the Story arose of a *Persian Mule*. And this conjecture is confirmed by other instances; particularly in that the same mistake has happened in relation to *Spaco*, the Nurse of *Cyrus*. *Spaco* in *Persia* signifies a *Bitch*; and we find her Story told by the *Greeks*, under the name *Kuvw*; and so *Cyrus* is said to have been nursed by a *Bitch*.

It is probable, that he was called *Cyrus*; because he was born of a *Mede* and *Persian*. For though it was customary for the Royal Families of those times to intermarry with the neighbouring Nations; it was customary among the *Persians* to marry within themselves: which might make an external marriage the more remarkable.

As I am now upon probable Conjectures only, I shall venture to add in this Place a very remarkable Circumstance in *Herodotus*’s account of the Conquest of *Cræsus* by *Cyrus*; with a Solution of it from the Book of *Daniel*. *Herodotus* tells us; that one Reason why *Cræsus*, was condemned to the flames by *Cyrus*, was this; because he had learned, that He was Θεοσεβής, a religious man; or a worshipper of the Gods; and had a mind to see, whether any of them would preserve him.—This was in the year before *Christ* 544; *Shadrac*, *Meshech*, and *Abednego* were carried captive with *Daniel* to *Babylon* in the year 598, fifty-four years before; and were preserved by the Power of God,  
when



made-up by the *Sanhedrim*, out of Papers left by *Daniel*; or let it be written as late as 200 years before *Christ*, as *Porphry* vainly imagined; (Objections which the Dr. had just before considered:) yet still my Observation is good; that in this Book is an *express* and *clear Prophecy* of a *Kingdom*, which God was to erect. And were

when cast into the fiery Furnace, at the Court of *Cyrus's* Uncle, *Nebuchadnezzar*; when *Cyrus* was a Child in *Persia*; and *Nebuchadnezzar* upon this Account made a Decree, in which it was declared, that no other God could deliver after that sort. *Dan. iii. 29.* Now *Cyrus*, who was about fifty-five years of Age at the Conquest of *Cræsus*, knowing that *Cræsus* was famous through the World for his Presents to the Temples of the Heathen Gods; might be willing to try, whether the Gods of *Cræsus* were not as powerful and propitious to their Worshipers; as *Jehovah*, the God of the *Jews*. And in this Light, the action of *Cyrus* was natural enough; in a Country, where such Cruelty was not uncommon. But if *Cyrus* had never heard of any such Deliverance of pious Men, by the divine Interposition; it must appear to be an extravagant and unaccountable thing, unworthy of the Character of so great and wise a Prince: or that the Historian should mention such a strange Story.—It is very remarkable; that, in the whole Discourse of *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, he never once attempts to declare the *Unity* of the Lord *Jehovah*; but only his *Supremacy*: which was the Question *Cyrus* seems desirous of trying; *i. e.* whether any of the Gods of *Cræsus* was as powerful as the God of the *Jews*. This was a question, which he might think to be of sufficient Consequence to excuse the way he undertook to solve it: especially, if he really believed his Gods would save him; as the God of *Israel* had saved his Worshipers.

this



this only to be considered, a sufficient Foundation is laid for that ancient and constant opinion, that one from *Judæa* was to arise, and to obtain a dominion over all. And those, who would destroy the Credibility of the Gospel, must in some manner or other shew; that there is not a sufficient foundation in the Scripture, for the Expectation of the *Messiah*—or deny the Credibility of the miraculous Works which *Jesus* performed—or refute the Accounts of his Resurrection. These being the Evidences produced by Our Saviour, that he was what he pretended to be(*r*).”

The Prophecies of *Daniel*, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, were in the greatest repute among the *Jews*; till the reign of the *Roman Emperor Hadrian(s)*. And Dr. *Allix* informs us; that *R. Eliezer*, who lived under *Trajan*, observed: that the Reading the Old Testament made the *Jews* turn *Heretics*; i. e. *Christians*: himself being suspected of being inclinable that way. So that in after-times they preferred much the Study of the *Mishna*, that is to say, of their Traditions; before that of the Law itself(*t*).” And thus the Prophet *Daniel* got out of Repute, more than the rest; “being the most distinct

(*r*) *Sykes*’ Preface to an Essay on the Truth, &c. p. xiv.—And Essay, p. 27, &c. (*s*) Sir *Isaac Newton*, on the Prophecies of *Daniel*; p. 25. (*t*) *Allix*’ Judgement of the *Jewish Church*; p. 326.



in order of Time, and easiest to be understood : and to reject his Prophecies, is to reject the *Christian* Religion. For this Religion is founded upon his Prophecy concerning the *Messiah*(*u*) ;” But, in the time of *Josephus*, this Prophet was in the highest Repute : and he himself gives very large Attestations to his writings and character. He calls him “ one of the greatest Prophets(*x*) ;” and says, “ the Spirit of God was “ in him ; and the books which he hath written “ and left behind him, are, even to this time, “ read among us ; and we believe, from the “ accounts we there find, that he had intercourse “ with God(*y*) ;” and a little farther on he quotes his Prophecies, as a Proof, that the *Epicureans* were mistaken, in excluding Providence from the Government of the World, because, if there were no Providence, there could be no Prophecy. And he tells us ; that *Daniel* did not only prophesy future Events, as other Prophets did ; but also determined the Time, when they should come to pass. And by this last observation he directs us to search in the Book of *Daniel* for the exact Time, when the Prophecy of

(*u*) Sir *Isaac Newton* ; p. 15 and 25.

(*x*) Εἰς τῶν μεγίστων προφητῶν. *Chandler's Vind.* p. 71. And he declares, that he lived 240 years before *Judas Maccabæus* ; i. e. the times of *Antiochus*. *Antiq.* XII. c. xi. See *Sykes' Essay* ; edit. 2. part 29.

(*y*) *Jos. Ant.* XII. c. vii. § 6.



a King who should reign over all should *commence*; rather than in any other of the Prophets.

Accordingly, we are told by *Daniel*; after he had explained to *Nebuchadnezzar* the Vision of the Four great Monarchies, which were to follow one another successively—that, in the days of these Kings; *i. e.* before the end of the fourth Kingdom, or Monarchy of the *Romans*; (as *Josephus* himself understood it) the God of Heaven would set-up a Kingdom, which should never be destroyed. The words are these:—“And in the days of these Kings shall the God of Heaven set-up a Kingdom, which shall never be destroyed: and the Kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these Kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever(z).” And if this Description of the eternal Kingdom to be erected, be compared with his Prophecy of *Messiah* the Prince, in the ninth Chapter, Verse 26; who was to be cut off at the End of threescore and two weeks; we shall find the time determined to an exactness by *Daniel*: which had not been done by any of the other Prophets.

Here we see not only the original Prophecy of a King who should reign over all, upon which the old and Constant Opinion which prevailed over all the East was founded; [agreeably to the

(z) *Dan.* xi. 44. vii. 13, 14.



promise made to *Abraham*, and the Covenant with *David*] but the Reason also why the *Jews* expected him [*κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν eo ipso tempore*] at that particular time; which expectation, according to *Josephus*, was the occasion of the war with the *Romans*(a): and, besides this, we see the very principle of the mistake both of *Josephus*, and all others, who attributed the Kingdom, that was to be over all, to *Vespasian*.

The Prophet had said; “the People of the Prince that shall come, shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary:” *Dan.* ix. 26. and these People were certainly the *Roman* Soldiers under *Vespasian*; and consequently, *Vespasian* was the Prince that should come: and upon this *Josephus* most probably built, when he ventured to foretell to him, that he should be Emperor: and so far his Interpretation appears to be just; viz. that *Vespasian* should be the Prince of the *Roman* People: But he was very much mistaken; when he imagined, that the Prince of the People who should destroy the City, was the Prince who

(a) The Text quoted by the Bishop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*, *Numb.* xxiv. 7. gives no Reason, why the *Jews* expected the *Messiah* at that particular time. The Bishop seems to fall into a like mistake with Mr. *Collins*; and quotes a Text, which only proves that the *Messiah* was expected; when he ought to have proved, that he was expected at that particular time; which occasioned the War with the *Romans*.



should *reign over all*: though he was not singular in that Interpretation; for We are told, that *R. Jochanan Ben Zacchai* also, flying out of *Jerusalem* at the same time, saluted *Vespasian* Emperor; saying, He should rule the World, or become Prince over all; who should destroy that City(*b*). They plainly saw in those Prophecies, there was a Prince foretold, who should *destroy the City and Sanctuary*; and a Prince, *who should be cut-off*; and a Prince, *who should reign over all*: and the date of the Prophecy, *when* his Kingdom should begin, was now out; and they supposed, no other Prince had appeared to accomplish the Prophecy, but *Vespasian*: and therefore there is no wonder some of them should choose, rather than allow their Prophecies to be false, to consider *Vespasian* both as the Prince who should *destroy the City*, and the Prince who should *reign over all*. And this they thought themselves forced to, as the only means to save the Credit of their Prophets; notwithstanding the *Chacams*, or wise Men, had till that time considered the Prophecy to be *οικειον*, particularly relating to their own Nation; whereas *Vespasian's* rise to the Empire had no more relation to *Judaea*, than to any other Province. And it appeared, in the Event; that the Prince who was to reign over all, was not the Prince *who should destroy the City*; but the Prince *who was to be cut-off*.

(b) *Menas. de term. Vitæ; sect. iii.*



But though it was very natural for them, in such Circumstances, to be forced into this Interpretation; because no more than *one* Prince was supposed to have appeared: and also because it was more likely to be true in fact, that he who should *destroy the City* should be the *conquering* Prince that should reign over all; than He that should *be cut-off*: yet we find, the wise Men were greatly disappointed with it; and the whole Prophecy was hereby rendered more obscure than ever: So that *Josephus* had reason to call it an *ambiguous* Prophecy; supposing it to be accomplished in a Sense, which did not appear to be a natural one; or at all satisfactory. For however He might venture to flatter *Vespasian* in this respect; it is certain, from many other of our Prophecies relating to the same Person; that the Prince who should reign over all, was to be of a very different Character. He was to be just, and having Salvation(c). He was to be the Lord, our Righteousness(d). He was to be One Shepherd over us(e); and *David* was to be our Prince for ever. Our Noble-One was to be of Ourselves; and our Governor to proceed from the midst of us(f). And consequently

(c) *Zeck.* ix. 9.

(d) *Jer.* xxiii. 6. xxxiii. 16.

(e) *Ezek.* xxiv. 23. xxxvii. 24. 25.

(f) *Jerem.* xxx. 21. This Text should be translated in the singular Number: their Noble One shall be of themselves; and



quently an Interpretation, which supposed all these characters to centre in *Vespasian*, could never satisfy any person; who was versed in the prophetic Writings, and acknowledged this Prophecy to be *ὀκνητός* as we see in fact it did not; but was looked-upon to be ambiguous.

But in truth the *Messiah's* Kingdom was a Subject, which neither *Philo* nor *Josephus* chose to speak freely upon; whatever they might think of it themselves(g): and perhaps it would have been

and their Governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause Him to draw near, and He shall approach unto me. And this Text is understood of the *Messiah* in the *Targum*, and paralleled with *Dan. vii. 13.* "They brought Him [the Son of Man] near before him." See *Midr. Tillim* on *Psa. xxi. 7.* and others, in *Pearson* on the Creed; art. vii. p. 293.

(g) *Josephus*, in Book XII. of his *Antiq.* when this Subject falls directly in his way, purposely avoids it. "Daniel, says he, added his interpretation of the Stone; [which is agreed by our Rabbins to signify the *Messiah's* Kingdom] but I do not think fit to relate that: my Business being only to give a History of things *past* and *over*, and not of things to *come*." *Jos. Ant. X. XI.* Bp. *Chandler*; p. 104.

*Philo*, who lived before *Josephus*, speaks of the *Messiah's* Kingdom with the same Caution; *de Præm. & Pæn.* p. 93, 94. For he first touches upon the Prophecy in *Numb. xxiv. 7.* "He [*Jacob*] shall pour the Water out of his Buckets, and his Seed shall be in many Waters, and his King shall be higher than *Agag*, and his Kingdom shall be exalted:" [where the Person spoken-of is understood to be



been highly imprudent in them to declare to their Conquerors, that a King over the whole World still continued to be expected to arise from *our* Nation. They seem to have acted much more wisely, by leaving the matter in obscurity to the *Heathens*; and at the same time explaining to the *Jews* the Prophecies which had been already fulfilled. For they could very well understand, what *Philo* observes; that a Completion of a *Part* of what was promised, was a good reason for our believing the *Rest*. This was a rational foundation of their Faith; and such as God had vouchsafed to them from the beginning.

But had *Josephus* been ever so well satisfied, that the Person here spoken-of, as *the Prince*

be the *Messiah*, by the three *Jewish Paraphrasts*; and since them by *Maimonides*:] and then expresseth himself thus—“ For, as the Oracle saith; a Man shall go forth, and warring against great and populous Nations, shall overcome them; God sending suitable help to the Godly.— This Man shall extend his Conquests for the good of the Conquered; so as to be the Strength of the Empire, and the Head of all Mankind; Κράτος Ἀρχῆς Κεφαλὴ ἀνθρώπων γένος” p. 927. [of the human race.] Here he refers to the *Messiah* in such a manner; as to encourage the Faith of the *Jew*, and the Hopes he builds on the Prophecies; and yet at the same time is very obscure and unintelligible to the Heathens.” *Whitby*, on I *Pet.* v. 13. and what *Josephus* calls the Sacred Writings, *Philo* here calls more obscurely the Oracle: for he lived in a time more dangerous to Prophetic Writings. See Bishop *Chandler's* Defence of Christianity; p. 26.

who



who should reign over all, was not *Vespasian*, but *Messiah the Prince*; as had long been understood by our People: yet was the Prophecy as ambiguous upon that Supposition, as upon any other. First, because they did not allow that any such Prince had appeared: and Secondly, because this very prophecy declared, that *Messiah* should be cut-off. And that the same person should be cut-off, and yet reign for ever; and after pouring out his Soul to death, should see his seed, and prolong his days; seemed to be so impossible, according to the common sense of the words; as to give room for the Notion of some ambiguous meaning, which they could not then comprehend. They were under the very same difficulty, as is mentioned by St. John: “We have heard, say they, out of the Law; that Christ abideth for ever: and how sayest thou, the Son of Man must be lifted-up? Who is this Son of Man(h)?” And if they had not had the firmest dependence upon the divine inspiration of the Prophets; they must have looked upon the prophecy not as doubtful or ambiguous, but absolutely contradictory and impossible. And it is here that the *Christians* come-in to our Relief; and undertake to explain to us the accomplishment of those very prophecies, by a detail of plain Historical Facts; which the wisest of our *Chacams* in the

(h) John xii. 34.



days of *Josephus*, and ever since, have looked upon to be ambiguous and incomprehensible.

Whether the *Christians* have succeeded better than *We*, in the explanation of this Prophecy; is the Question between us. But as the very attempt proves, that they are carrying-on the same important Speculations with Ourselves; and argue from the same prophecies, which we allow to be authentic; and frequently speak of us with great Respect<sup>(i)</sup>; I can see no reason, why we should refuse them the hearing; unless we can prove them to be in an Error, by arguing against them *à priori*; as I own, till of late, I have always used to do myself.

It hath been already shewn, in my second Letter; that *Messiah* the Prince, the same who is here prophesied-of, that he should be cut-off before the destruction of the City and Sanc-

(i) Nos qui arctiore Vinculo [quam Pagani] illis [scil. *Judæis*] sociamur, amemus inter nos; & hoc habeamus commune, quod jussa audimus ejusdem Numinis. *Cunæus* de Repub. *Heb.* p. 116.—Divus quidem *Paulus* pro illis caput suum devovere cupit; adeo impense amat gentem, &c.—ad hæc fera tempora quod attinet, sane si bene rationem putamus, haud exiguum est, quod illi genti nostra debet Religio, &c. Et profecto D. *Paulus* veneratur eos, & laudibus magnifice effert [*sic*] errantes. *Quorum est Adoptio et Gloria*, &c.—Quæ poterat esse major Nobilitas? Tot Patriarchas, Vatesque & Reges in avis proavisque numerant; denique tot excelsos & divina Virtute Viros, quorum sunt nomina Cælo consecrata. p. 114, &c.



tuary; is declared by the Prophet *Malachi*, and proved by abundant Testimonies of the Old Testament, to be the *Angel* of the *Covenant*: and that the New Testament agrees in the same Doctrine. And as this Belief will clear the Subject from many difficulties; which I used to look upon not only as unanswerable Objections to *Christianity*, but instances of direct and wicked Blasphemy; and argued against it under that Notion, as a Religion in its very Nature contradictory to the honour of God and his Attributes; it will be proper in the first place, in order to clear the way for my Friend, as I did for my Self; to answer the Objections which I then made, and thought to be unmountable.

1. And, in the first place, nothing ever appeared to me more improbable; than that the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, who for so many ages had ministred to the will of the Supreme *Jehovah*; coming in his Name, and exercising his Authority in the Government of the World; should on a sudden give place to an *other* Person, whom neither We nor our Fathers had known; and be superseded in his Office and Ministry, we know not why; in direct opposition to his own promise given to *Jacob*, that He would not leave him; till he had performed all that he had said unto him(k): and to all the

(k) *Gen.* xxviii. 15.



Prophets; who have so frequently declared, that his Government should be *eternal* over us.

I argued farther; that the Person, who first exercised this Office and Ministry, and who was particularly declared to be our King and Saviour; the same *Jehovah*, who took us by the hand to lead us out of *Egypt*; had promised that he would come again, and dwell among us, and save us in the latter days<sup>(l)</sup>. But in what Character can He possibly appear; if the *Christian Messiah* hath succeeded to his Character, Office, and Ministry, in every respect? As being called the Saviour of the World, *Emmanuel*, or God with us, the express Image of the invisible *Jehovah*, and ὁ ἐχόμενος, he that cometh in the name of the Lord; in which Character and Title it is that *Christ* expects to be received at his *second* appearance; as he declares himself: “Ye shall not see me henceforth; till ye shall say, Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord<sup>(m)</sup>:” Which words are explained by the *Christians*, to mean; that he will come *Dei mandato, potestate, virtute, vice, velut Dei legatus, gerens Personam Dei*<sup>(n)</sup>; than which there cannot be a more perfect Character given of the *Jehovah Angel*. So that, if he be not the *same* person, the *Christian Doctrine* is incredible; for there cannot possibly

(l) *Zech.* ii. 10, 11. *Hos.* i. 7. *Zech.* x. 12. *Mic.* iv. 7.

(m) *Matt.* xxiii. 39.

(n) *Poli Synop.*



be *two* such Persons. Our Scriptures every where declare; there is but *One* Lord, and his Name *One(o)*; and there can be no *Second* Lord, or Saviour, or *Emmanuel*. These reasons I still look upon as unanswerable. But, if *Christ* be the *Jehovah-Angel*, all is plain and easy before us. He still maintains his Dignity, and Authority, and Office; and his Promises may be still completed.

2. Secondly, what was always looked-upon as a great stumbling-block to our Nation, and appeared to us to invalidate the evidence of all the Miracles which the *Christians* alleged in support of their Notions; was the abolition of the *Mosaic* Laws: those Laws, which we received from *Jehovah*; when he descended on *Mount Zion*, in the most solemn and astonishing manner; accompanied with Thunder, and Lightning, and Earthquakes; and all the appearance of a Revelation from the Supreme God. But, if *Christ* be the *Jehovah* himself, who appeared and gave the Law; this Objection also ceases. For, in the first place, our own Prophets have declared; that in process of time, a new Covenant would be made with us; by the same *Jehovah*, who gave us the Laws of *Moses*. “Behold, the days come, saith *Jehovah*; that I will make a new Covenant with the house of *Israel*; I will put my

(o) *Zeck.* xiv. 9. *Pf.* lxxxiii. 18.

Law



Law in their inward Parts, and write it in their hearts; saith *Jehovah*—and I will forgive their Iniquity, and will remember their Sin no more.” And again; “I will make an everlasting Covenant with them; that I will not turn away from them to do them good, but I will put my fear in their Hearts(*p*);” &c. And therefore we can neither expect, nor allow of, any alteration in our Laws; by any other Person. And accordingly *R. Albo*, whom we call the divine Philosopher; proves, in his book of Articles; that the Law may be changed by *God*, as he pleases; so as may be best fitted to the Condition and Circumstances of Mankind: which he illustrates by the Comparison of a Physician; who alters his Prescriptions, according to the State of the Patient(*q*).

I ob-

(*p*) *Jer.* xxxi. 31, 33, 34.—xxxii. 40.

(*q*) *Tract.* III. cap. xiii. xiv.

*R. Albo*, [quoted by *Vorstius*, in his Notes upon *Maimonides* de Fund. Legis; p. 121.] says; “Potest fieri, ut in eam [Legem] cadat mutatio respectu accipientis.”—And again; “Scriptura non nisi nos admonet, ne addamus aut subtrahamus aliquid Præceptis; pro nostro libitu vel arbitrio: Sed quid prohibet, quo minus Ipse Benedictus addat aut demat; prout Sapientia ejus statuit?” &c. And he supplies us with an Answer to *Deut.* xxiii. 14. and other Texts which speak of the Law’s being Everlasting; in lib. III. cap. 16. shewing; that the Phrases *æternum*, *usque in æternum*, *aut in æternum*, *Statutum æternum*, &c. are not designed to express and teach the Eternity of the Law, but a certain and deter-

minate



I observe therefore, secondly; that this new Covenant could not possibly be made in so proper a Time; as when the Laws of *Moses* should become impracticable: and this was the Case, when our Nation and Sanctuary were to be destroyed; and We were to be dispersed through all the World; and should not be any longer able to perform the Sacrifices, which God had commanded to be performed *at the Temple only*(r): nor come up thither from all parts, three times a year, at the great Feasts; as commanded(s). And much less could these Laws be observed; when the *Messiah* was to become a Light to the *Gentiles*, and the Salvation of God unto the End of all the Earth; and all Nations should worship him. This would have been impossible: and accordingly we are told by *Isaiab*, in direct Contradiction to the *Mosaic* Law; “that the Priests and the Levites should be made from among the *Gentiles*(t): and this was to be, when all Flesh was to come and worship before *Jehovah*(u).” And *Malachi* says; “From the rising of the Sun, even to the going down of the same, my Name

minate Time; *Tempus circumscriptum, vel determinatum*; which he proves from *Prov.* xxii. 25. *Jer.* ii. 20. *Mal.* iii. 4. *Psf.* lxi. 5. *Is.* xlv. 17. *Eccles.* i. 10. *Ex.* xxi. 4. *I Sam.* i. 28. *Numb.* viii. 24. *Is.* xxxii. 14. *Psf.* lxviii. 10. *Is.* lxiii. 60, &c.

(r) *Deut.* xii. 14. (s) *Deut.* xvi. 16. (t) *Is.* lxvi. 21. (u) *Ibid.* verse 23.

shall



shall be great among the *Gentiles*; and in every place Incense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering: for my Name shall be great among the *Heathen*(*x*).” And we are told by *Isaiah*; “In that day there shall be an Altar to *Jehovah* in the midst of the Land of *Egypt*, and a pillar at the border thereof to *Jehovah*,” and here the *Egyptians*, and *Assyrians*, and *Israelites*, shall all worship *Jehovah*; whom *Jehovah* of Hosts shall bless, saying, Blessed be *Egypt*, my People; and *Assyria*, the Work of my hand; and *Israel*, mine Inheritance(*y*).” Thus, as the Kingdom of the *Messiah* was to be extended, the Laws of his Kingdom were also to be extended; as the Nature of the thing required: that all his Subjects might worship him in the same manner. And therefore, *thirdly*; If it be asked, by what Power and Authority so great a change in the Law could be made; for that no Being in the Universe could have Authority to abrogate or change those Laws, which *Jehovah* himself had given us; the Prophet *Daniel* will give a plain and direct answer. For speaking of *Messiah* the Prince, he tells us? “He shall confirm the Covenant with many, *for* [or *in*] one Week; and in the midst of the Week, He shall cause

(*x*) Incense, in the Revelation of St. *John*, is said to be the Prayers of the Saints; chap. v. *Mal.* i. 2.

(*y*) *Isaiah* xix. 19, 21, 25.



the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease(z).”—It was therefore *Messiah* the *Prince*, that was to abrogate our Laws; that is, the same *Jehovah*, who made the first Covenant with our Fathers: in the day that he took them by the hand to bring them out of the Land of *Egypt*(a): and consequently, the *Mosaic* Law was to be abolished by the *same* Person, by whom it was promulged: and no Man can deny, that the *same* Power and Authority that makes a Law, hath a right to change or abrogate it. And accordingly *St. Chrysostom* teaches; that “Christ *therefore* gave the Law, that he might have Authority, when it was convenient, to put an end to it(b).” But,

3. What appeared to me a very shocking part of the *Christian* System, and what I could not avoid looking-upon as a great affront and blasphemy against God, was this; that they not only asserted, that the Laws of God were to be abrogated; but that it was to be done by *his*

(z) *Dan.* ix. 27. or, as *Sir Isaac Newton* translates it; in half a week he shall cause the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease: That is, by the War of the *Romans* upon the *Jews*: which war, after some Commotions, began in the thirteenth year of *Nero*, A. D. 67, in the Spring; when *Vespasian* with an Army invaded them: and ended in the second year of *Vespasian*, A. D. 70; in Autumn, *Sept.* 7; when *Titus* took the City; having burned the Temple twenty-seven days before: So that it lasted three years and an half. *Sir Isaac Newton* on the Prophecies; p. 136.

(a) *Jer.* xxxi. 32.

(b) *Tenison* of Idolatry, p. 332.



*Command*: and boasted of miraculous gifts, by which *he* gave Evidence to their pretensions, that they received their Power from *him* to that Purpose, and acted by *his* Authority: making the Power of God, as it then appeared to me, subservient to the destruction of his own Laws. This seemed to be so apparent an Absurdity; as ruined the Evidence from Miracles, which was brought to support it; and returned in discredit upon the Miracles themselves. For, though we could not deny the Facts, and indeed we did not offer at it; yet we could not admit any Miracles, let them be ever so extraordinary, as an Evidence against God himself: and therefore there is no wonder that our Fathers attributed such effects to Magic Art, which was then believed; *i. e.* to the worst of Causes, and of Authors: rather than receive them as the act of *God*, in contradiction to *his own* Laws.

Thus we ourselves have often reasoned together, in former days, upon this Subject; and always looked upon the Argument to be decisive. Nay, we considered our Opposition to such Evidence to be highly meritorious; as being commanded in the Book of the Law: which I have frequently quoted, both to *Jews* and *Christians*. “If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams; and giveth thee

a sign



a sign or a wonder, and the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto Thee; saying, Let us go after other Gods, (which thou hast not known,) and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the Words of that Prophet, or that Dreamer of Dreams: for the Lord your God *proveth* you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul:—and that Prophet or Dreamer of Dreams shall be put to death(*d*).”

But when I afterwards considered, that the bringing-in of a *new* Covenant was foretold by the Prophets; and therefore the Abolition of the *Mosaic* Law *might be* so far from an Opposition to God, as to be an actual Accomplishment of his Promise; and that Miracles were absolutely necessary to give a Sanction to the *new* Covenant, whenever it should be introduced; (for no Authority could alter the Laws of God, but *his own*; which could only be known by Miracles, or Prophecy; or both together:) And when I farther considered; that the Person, by whom they were said to be changed, was declared, both in the Old and New Testament, to be the Visible *Jehovah*, by whom they were promulged; I must own, that all my Objections *à priori* subsided: together with all that heat and resentment, which I had from my youth indulged and cherished against the *Christian* Principles. For, if *Christ*

(*d*) Deut. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 5.



be the Visible *Jehovah*, he had an undoubted Right to abrogate whatever Laws he pleased; and to establish new ones in their stead: nor could there be any question made, but that under the Character of the *Messiah*, he would carry on his Ministry, in the *latter* ages of the World, in the same powerful manner in which he had acted in former times; when he led our Fathers in the Wilderneys. For, no reason can be given why he should be obliged to restrain himself *now*, more than *formerly*, from acting according to his own natural powers; and from performing such things as we look upon to be miraculous; *i. e.* such as are beyond the powers of Man; and much less reason can we have to suppose any such restraint; when we consider, that it was one main part of his Design to prove himself the Son of God by the Exercise of a power Superior to that of Man.

It appears then, from this one Principle; [*viz.* that *Jesus Christ* was the *Angel* of the *Covenant* ;] that the *Christian* System is entirely freed from Four Capital Objections *à priori*, which have prevented *our* people almost universally from examining into the Proof of it.

I. That *Jesus Christ* is not a *second* supreme God, which is objected to the *Christians* in my First Letter; but the Son of the *One* supreme God, who ministred to the Will of the *One* supreme God, in the Creation and Government of



of the World from the beginning, in the Character of *Jehovah*, the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; and consequently, has a Right to the same Worship; as was paid to the Angel *Jehovah*, in the Old Testament; or, to a greater Worship; if he be now more highly exalted(e).

2. That he is not superseded in his Office and Ministry, by any other Person; as we supposed him to be in the *Christian* System: and consequently, has it still in his power to accomplish his Promises, by blessing all the families of the Earth; in the Character of *Messiah* the *Prince*, the Saviour of Mankind.

3. That the Abolition of the Ceremonial part of the *Mosaic* Law, which was foretold by the Prophets; [*viz.* that a New Covenant should be made with the houses of *Israel* and *Judah* by *Jehovah*, who led them out of *Egypt*, not according to the Covenant which he made with our Fathers;] was brought about by the Person who had a Right to alter or abolish it as he pleased; because he was the same Person that promulged it.

4. That the Miracles of *Christ* might possibly be performed, not in opposition to the Laws of God, as we imagined them to be; but in compliance with his design of introducing a new and everlasting Covenant, according to his promise:

(e) See Letter III, p. 383, 384.



and might be necessary to prove, that the change in our Laws was not made without the same divine Authority by which they were enacted; and, consequently, might be performed by the power of God; and not by Magic Art(*f*).

And, these Objections *à priori* being removed it becomes a very serious Subject, and worthy of the strictest Examination of all such as believe our Prophets; Whether the Advent of the *Messiah* (according to the Prophecies, and the Expectation of our Fathers founded upon the Interpretation of them) be already passed, or not. Or, in other words, whether *Jesus Christ* be *Messiah* the Prince. And this Question must be resolved, by comparing the prophecies of the *Messiah* in the Old Testament with the History of *Jesus Christ* recorded in the New: and, if we find a perfect Correspondence between them, it seems to me inexcusable not to admit his Claim.

For, if we deny, that a perfect Agreement with the Prophecies will prove their Completion; there will be no Criterion left us to judge by, whether the Prophecies ever are fulfilled or

(*f*) *Maimonides* himself confesses in c. x. *Sanhedrim*, that *Messiah* would perform Miracles; in these words: “Et servient illi omnes terræ, propter Justitiam ejus magnam & mirabilia aut Miracula quæ fient per ejus manum”—*Contra vero asserit, capite penultimo in Tract. Melachim*, “*Messiah* non opus habiturum miraculis, aut nulla editurum.” Unde Inconstantia merito culpari debet.” &c. *Vorstii* Not. in *Abrav. de Cap. Fid.* p. 69.



no: If they can be fulfilled in more than *One* Person, they may be fulfilled in a *Thousand*; and yet not one of that thousand be the person meant: and the Argument must then go in favour of the *Christians*, thus far at least; that the Prophecies of the *Messiah* may already be fulfilled, and *Christ* may be the *Messiah*, and may have come long ago; for any thing we know to the contrary.

But the *Christians* will carry the argument much farther. For the Prophecies we are to consider, are, some of them, so *determinate* in their *fixed* Dates; as to be incapable of any Completion, after those Dates are out: and consequently must happen within a given period; or not at all. If not at all; the Prophecy must be *false*. But, if the Prophecy be true, and the Period passed; the Prophecy must be already *fulfilled*. And if the Prophecy hath been fulfilled in *one* Person only, He must be *the* Person intended. And, consequently; if *Christ* be the only Person, in whom the Prophecies have been fulfilled; (as I shall go-on to shew;) he must be the *Messiah*.

But, before I begin this Examination, I would observe—

I. That We must not object to the *Christians* such Arguments, as will contradict or render useless *our own* Prophecies; and attempt to prove that the *Messiah* is not come, by such reasons as will



will equally prove that he never *can* come; or that it never can be known, whether he *is* come or not.

II. And, more generally; We must not object to the Authority of the *Christian* Scriptures such Arguments as will equally affect the Authority of *our own*. No man can *demonstrate* the Books of *Moses* to have been written before *William* the Conqueror's Reign (g): but he may shew

(g) To expect *Demonstration*, in Matters of *Faith*; is absurd: from the very Nature of Faith, and of the Matters to be believed. For, first; the Effect of *Demonstration* is not *Faith*, but *Knowledge*: and secondly; Nothing is capable of *Demonstration*, but what arises from the Nature of Things; and could not possibly have been otherwise. Whatever depends on the Will of God entirely, can only be shewn to be *credible*; and things *credible* have degrees of *Credibility*, according to the degrees of *Evidence*. And, when the *Evidence* preponderates greatly on one side of the Question; the Man, who believes or acts contrary to it, is as insane, in respect of his Understanding; as if he should believe or act contrary to *Demonstration*. No Man can *demonstrate* to another; that any thing exists, which he sees or hears: And a Sceptic may think it a sign of Wisdom and superior Understanding in him to *believe* nothing.— But with regard to Revelation, *Demonstration* is unnecessary and impossible: the Assent to it is not *Knowledge*, but *Faith*; and consequently, it is sufficient to all the Intents and Purposes designed by it, if it can be made *credible* to an honest Man. And those, who withstand sufficient Evidence, must take the Consequence of it; and, in many points of Truth, which are very desirable as well as important, must remain in the dark. And this seems to be  
the



shew it to be highly *probable*, that they were written above 3000 years ago. We ought therefore to be satisfied with the same kind of Arguments, in proof of the *Christian* Scriptures; which we give, in proof of *our own*. I shall not at present enter into the Examination of either; but only observe, that, whatever Proofs we may have, that the Books of the *Old Testament* were written at the Times assigned to them, and by the Persons whose Names they bear; the Authority for the *Christian* Scriptures is as strong in every respect; and in the following Considerations much stronger. As,

1. The Actions and Characters of the Persons mentioned in the *New Testament*; and the History, Chronology, Opinions, Practises, and Customs of the Times, in the several different parts of the World; are generally confirmed by passages of ancient and approved Authors, both *Jews* and *Heathens*; who were contemporary with *Christ*, or lived near that time(*b*). And,

2. The Gospels were written by Three of the Evangelists, within about thirty years after the Death of *Christ*; which was as soon as it

the Case of some Deists. They will not assent to the most *probable* side of the Question; because it cannot be proved to be *certain*: nor *believe*, because they cannot *know*. As if a Man should refuse to provide for the *Morrow*; because he cannot prove, the World will last over the *Night*.

(*b*) See Dr. Lardner's Credibility of the Gospel History.

Q q q

could



could be wanted to supply the Personal presence of the Apostles; and before the memory of things could wear-out in *Judæa*: and, about 62 years after his Death, the whole Canon of the *Christian* Scriptures was finished. And these Books have been quoted, as Sacred and of divine Original, by a series of *Christian* Writers from that time to the present age; and the Writings of these Witnesses, authorised by the Quotations of succeeding ages. So that the Evidence of every age is the support of that which went before it, to the very time of *Christ's* Birth; and thereby the Evidence of the whole rendered impregnable to it's Enemies. In this kind of Proof the *Old Testament* is defective, for many ages; and depends so importantly upon the Truth of the *New Testament*, at this time of day; that, if the *New Testament* be not authentic, the Prophecies of the *Old* will in a great measure lose their Credit.

These are the Rules, which I found it necessary to lay down for myself; when I first considered this important Subject: for I always looked-upon it to be unworthy of an honest Man to defend his Opinions upon any Principle, that was not satisfactory to his own mind.

And, under these Restrictions, I divided my Inquiry into the following heads:

I. What was to be the *Family* and *Lineage* of the *Messiah*.

II. The



II. The *Place* of his *Birth*.

III. The *Time* of his *Advent*.

IV. His *Actions*.

But, before I enter upon these Heads, it will be necessary to consider an Objection; which is made, by Mr. *Collins*, to the whole Process: to wit, that no *Messiah* was ever foretold by the Prophets, *plainly* and *literally*; but only *typically*, *allegorically*, and *ænigmatically*: and that no such Person was expected by the *Jews*, till about the time of *Christ*: and then, only as a *temporal* Prince.

“ I do allow, says Mr. *Collins*; that there was, in and about the times of *Jesus*, a very great Expectation among the *Jews*, of a Person to come; who was to redeem them by *Arms* out of the state of misery and slavery, under which they then groaned; and to set-up the *Jewish* Worship, in all its Forms and Splendor, together with the Empire: to which Person they gave, *by way of Emphasis*, the name of *Messiah*, or *Christ*: the former of which was *Hebrew*, and the latter *Greek*, for any *anointed* Person; whether *King*, *Priest*, or *Prophet*; as appears by the application and use of those Terms, in the *Hebrew* Bible, and *Septuagint* Translation. This Expectation appears, from the opinion of the *Virgin Mary*; that the Child with which she was big should help  
Q q q 2 *Israel*:



*Israel*: and most clearly from the Prophecy of *Zacharias*; who declares of that Child, that he was the Person spoken-of by the Prophets; who should save *Israel* from their Enemies, and from the hand of all that hated them. It appears also to be pretty prevalent at that time, from the several Rebellions and Insurrections, that were set on foot by the *Jews*; under the conduct of some Impostor or other, who pretended to redeem *Israel*: and from their attempt to make an Insurrection under *Jesus*; who retired from among them, and declined any such Enterprize(*i*).”

Now, supposing it were *true*, that the *Jews* expected only a *Temporal* Prince; it will make nothing against *Christianity*: as long as so many Prophecies remain in the Scriptures; which prove that an *Anointed One*, or *Messiah*, is there spoken-of more *emphatically*; who was to come in a much higher Character. For the question with regard to the *Christians*, is not, what the *Jews*, or even the Apostles and Disciples of *Christ* thought, before the matter was explained to them; but, what the *Scripture itself* contains. And the carelessness of the *Jews*, in not examining and comparing the Scripture, in order to find out the Truth; can never be a reason to conclude, that it may not be investigated by others; who will take more pains in that

(*i*) Scheme of Literal Prophecy considered; p. 12.

study,



study, and have more light: and it does not signify to an honest Man, *in what manner* the promise of the *Messiah* has been there revealed; whether literally or figuratively: provided there be sufficient Evidence, that it has been revealed *at all*(k).

It is true, as Mr. *Collins* observes; that in or about the time of *Jesus*, there was a great and general Expectation of a Person to come, who should redeem *Israel*; to whom they gave the name of *Christ*, by way of *Emphasis*: And it was expected, by many; that he should redeem them by *Arms*. But the Character, in which this *Emphatical Messiah* is described in the *Jewish Scripture*, and in which he was expected to come, was that of a *Spiritual Prince*; as

(k) God Almighty has, in every kind of Science, in a very extraordinary manner left *Obscurity in the midst* of things; [which seems to be the true Translation of *Eccles. iii. 11.*] in order to distinguish *Honesty*, and reward it. So that there is nothing so absurd, no not Atheism itself; but what may be defended in a specious manner by Men, who are more desirous of Admiration than of Truth; and lead men to deceive themselves and others, to their Ruin: while those who follow Truth, unbiassed by their Passions and Interests, will be in no such danger. Such is the reward of an *honest Man*; that even his giving way to Evidence (which one would imagine could hardly be avoided by a reasonable Being) will be rewarded hereafter, as a moral Virtue. So ready is Almighty God to dispense Happiness, as our moral Governor; whenever he beholds the least appearance of a virtuous mind.

very



very plainly appears, by the Answer which was given by *Christ* to the Disciples of St. *John*; when they were sent to enquire, whether it was *He* that should come; or whether they looked for an *Other*: which is the very Question we are now considering. To whom *Christ* gave this Answer, referring to the Prophecy of *Isaiah* xxxv. 4, 5. “Go and shew *John* those things which ye do see and hear; the Blind receive their sight, the Lame walk, the Lepers are cleansed, the Dead are raised, and the Poor have the Gospel preached unto them.” Here it is manifest, that some *great* Person was expected; and let any man judge by this description, whether it was a *Temporal* or a *Spiritual* Prince: and whether it will agree with the Character and History of *Vespasian*, or any one except the *Jehovah Angel*, or *Christ*; who was to save his People, both by his Instruction and his Power.

It would be to no purpose here to quote the several Texts of Scripture, in which the word *Messiah* is used; in order to prove, that he was foretold by the Prophets; long before the *Christian* Æra: because, as Mr. *Collins* observes; the word *Messiah* is used to signify *any* anointed Person: however he has weakened that Objection, by allowing that one Person was called so more *emphatically*. And the only way left to examine the Question will be, by  
con-



considering *who* this Person is in the *Old Testament*, so much Superior to all others; as to be called *emphatically* by that name. And to this purpose we may at a venture fix upon any of those Texts, wherein such a Person is foretold; and then examine, whether they *do* not all of them centre in one and the same Person; and whether they *can* possibly be understood of any other. I shall consider two or three, to explain what I mean; which are connected with one another.

And 1st, we may pitch upon the cxth *Psalms*: “*Jehovah* said unto my *Lord*; (or, as it is in the *Chaldee*, *Jehovah* said unto his *Word*;) Sit thou on my right-hand, until I make thine Enemies thy Foot-stool.” Now of this *Lord* it is declared; “*Jehovah* hath sworn, and will not repent; thou art a *Priest* for ever, after the Order of *Melchisedek*.” Here we find one Person foretold, the *Lord* of *David*; who was to be a *Priest*, and consequently a *Messiah*, of superior excellence to all that went before him; being marked-out and characterised by the enjoyment of an *everlasting* Priesthood.

Here we see, how Mr. *Collins* has hurt his own Cause; by his Criticism upon the word *Messiah*: for the *Christian*, by giving up all proof of a *spiritual Messiah*, from the mere Use of that word and arguing from the *literal Sense* and *Meaning* of it, will avail himself of numberless



berless Texts against Mr. *Collins*; which might otherwise have escaped Notice. But this is not the only good office he has done the *Christian* Cause: as I shall presently shew.

2. *Daniel*, in the ixth Chapter, foretells the coming of an extraordinary Person, whom he calls the most *Holy*; who was to be *anointed*, and consequently a *Messiah*; and this *Messiah* was to confirm the Covenant for one Week, and to cause the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease; and, consequently, was no *common* Priest; but of a much higher Character: and *Daniel* calls him *Messiah* the *Prince*. But he must have been a *Priest*, or a *Prophet*, as well as a *Prince*; or else he could not have had the power of confirming the Covenant. Now *Who* ever maintained these two Characters in the *Jewish* State, except *Christ* himself? who was both a *Prophet*, and a *King*, and a *Priest* for ever after the order of *Melchisedek*.

3. *Isaiab* prophesies of an extraordinary Person, [ch. liii.] whom he calls the *Elect* of God, in whom his Soul delighteth; and that he should make his Soul an offering for Sin, and bear [*i. e.* take away] the Sins of many. Now this was the part of a *Priest*; and so was his *Intercession* for *Transgressors*; and, consequently, He also was a *Messiah*; agreeably to Mr. *Collins's* Observation; and he must be the same *Messiah* with the last mentioned: for, whereas



whereas the high Priest went yearly into the Holy of Holies, to make Oblation for the Sins of the People; this *Messiah*, by justifying them and bearing their Iniquities, put an end to that part of the *Jewish* worship: and, this yearly Oblation being no longer necessary, (this Priest having offered himself *ἐφ' ἅπασι*, once for all;) the Reason of Sacrifice and Oblation, which was caused to cease by the *Messiah* foretold by *Daniel*, ceased of Course(*l*). But this *Messiah*, spoken-of by *Isaiab*, notwithstanding he was to make his Soul an *offering* for Sin, and to be *cut-off*, as was also the *Messiah* spoken-of by *Daniel*; yet he was to *see his Seed*, and be satisfied, and *prolong* his days, and divide the Spoil with the Strong; because he *poured out his Soul unto Death*. But how is it possible that this, or any one of these Prophecies, should be accomplished; in any other Person than *Christ*?

I readily allow; that, if One of them had been completed by *One* anointed Person or *Messiah*, and an Other of them completed by *an Other*: there would have been great difficulty in concluding, that any one particular Person was *emphatically* spoken-of as *the Messiah*. But, when such extraordinary Prophecies as these are all completed in *One*, and could not have been completed in *any other*; the Case is so plain, that one particular *Messiah* is pointed out; *καὶ ἐξοχὴν* that the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts have

(*l*) *Heb.* x. 1, 2. Compare with vii. 24, 25, 26, 27.



made no scruple to call him continually by that name; as the proper characteristic of that great Person, whom they expected to redeem *Israel*; and sometimes call the *Word of God*.

And though, one would imagine, Mr. *Collins* would be the last Man in the World to except to this appellation in the Paraphrases, upon account of his own Criticism upon the word *Messias*; yet he could not help thinking it so strong an Objection to his own System, that it was necessary so material an Evidence against him should be taken-off; and could find no better way of doing it, than objecting to the Authenticity of the Paraphrases. And to this purpose he says; "It seems to me most probable, that many of the places of the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts, where the *Messiah* is expressly named, are Interpolations." And the Reason he gives for such an extraordinary Opinion is founded upon this Mistake; "that those *Jews*, who were in the *Vulgar Error*, or the belief of a *Messiah to rise out of that Nation*; built their Expectation but on *one* ambiguous Oracle or Prophecy found in their sacred Books. And for this he quotes *Josephus*(*m*).

I have given the original *Greek* in the beginning of this Letter, together with the Translation; from whence the attentive cautious Reader may observe, that *Josephus* is not giving

(*m*) Ed. *Hudson*; 1183. *L'Estrange*; 971.



the Reasons, upon which the *Jews* built their Expectations that the *Messias* was to arise out of *their Nation*; as Mr. Collins has misrepresented the matter: but he is giving the Reason, why the Jews did *at that Time* go to war with the Romans: “That, says he, which chiefly excited them to War, was an ambiguous Prophecy; that, *about that Time*, some one from their Country should rule the World.”

Now there might be a thousand Texts, which spake of the *Messiah's* arising out of *our Nation*; and yet but one, that so exactly determined the *very Time*; as to be the *occasion of that War*.

But, supposing that *Josephus* had believed the hopes of the *Jews* to have been founded upon this one Prophecy, with regard to the *Messiah's* arising out of *our Nation*; why must the old Paraphrasts be lugged-in by mere violence, and contrary to their own words; as partaking of the same Error? Especially, as we have manifest proof from the Texts themselves, compared with their Interpretations; that they have made no such Blunder.

I shall now go-on to consider the several heads proposed: and examine the question carefully; whether *Jesus Christ* was the *Messiah* promised to our Fathers. And,

I. Whether he answered to the Character of the *Messiah*, in his Race or Lineage.—And it



will not be necessary to carry up this Inquiry any higher than *Abraham*: for the first intimation of the Seed of the Woman mentioned in the threat to the Serpent, which the ancient *Hebrews* understood to relate to the *Messiah*(*m*), was *general*; and regarded no *particular* Family. [Perhaps Almighty God had not so soon determined, from what Family the promised Seed should spring(*n*).] In the promise to *Abraham*, it became appropriated to that one Family; and afterwards to the *Israelites*. “God made choice of *Abraham* first; a man of such godlike qualities, that he was therefore called the *Friend* of God. To that excellent Man God gave the Promise; that there should be

(*m*) *Gen.* iii. 15. de remedio a *Messia* parando utrumque *Targum* accipit. Agnoscunt hoc multi insignes Hebræi (veteres, reliquis longe sinceriores in interpretatione Scripturarum;) imprimis *Cabalistæ*; qui asserunt Serpentem hunc esse *Satanam*, & Angelum Mortis. Ita R. *Judah*, R. *Samuel*, R. *Bechai*, & R. *Moses Egyptius*. *Poli Synopf.*

(*n*) St. *Paul* says, the *Seed* here mentioned means a particular Person; that is, *Christ*.—And so the *Jewish* Doctors understand it, in the *Jerusalem Targum*; where the fulfilling this Promise is expressly referred to the days of King *Messias*. The word *Seed* is used either for a Multitude; as *Gen.* xv. 5. So shall thy *Seed* be: or for one Particular Person; as *Gen.* xxi. 13. I will make him [*Ismael*] a Nation; because he is thy *Seed*.—iv. 25. God hath sent me another *Seed*, [or Son] instead of *Abel*. See *Gal.* iii. 16. *Ainsworth* ad Loca.



one of his Seed, in whom all the Families of the Earth should be blessed(o). This promise was afterwards appropriated to *Isaac* (p); “and in *Isaac* shall thy Seed be called.” And from this limitation, *Ismael*’s and *Esau*’s sons are excluded. And therefore it is said; “Whofo voweth concerning *Abraham*’s Seed, is free from *Ismael*’s and *Esau*’s Sons; and is not bound, but touching *Israelites* (q).” And thus the promise of the *Messiah* became *οἰκουμενικόν*, appropriated to *our Nation*.

The Promise to *Abraham* we find, *Gen.* xii. 2, 3.—xv. 18.—xvii. 6.—xxii. 18. And in *Ecclesiasticus* it is said; “Therefore *He* (the Most High) assured him (*Abraham*) by an Oath, that he would bless the Nations in his Seed; and that he would multiply him as the dust of the Earth, and exalt his Seed as the Stars, and cause them to inherit from Sea to Sea, and from the River unto the utmost part of the Land. With *Isaac* did he establish likewise, (for *Abraham* his Father’s sake) the blessing of all men, and the Covenant: and made it rest upon the head of *Jacob* (r).” Now the Completion of *two* parts of

(o) The ancient *Jews* referred this to the calling of the *Gentiles* by the *Messiah*; as we see *Sepher Casidim*; § 961. and to the abode of *Shechinah*, or *Δόμος*; as it is explained by *Joseph. de Carnifol Saare Isidor.* fol. 3. Col. iv. and fol. 4. Col. i. Bishop *Lloyd.* See *Gal.* iii. 8, 16. and so *Peter* supposes it spoken of the *Messiah*; *Acts* iii. 25.

(p) *Gen.* xxi. 12. (q) *Gen.* xxviii. 4. See *Maimonides*’ Treatise of Vows; ch. ix. sect. 21. (r) *Ecclus* xliv. 21.  
of



of this Promise; *viz.* the multiplying of the seed of *Abraham*, which came to pass as soon as it well could, when it became a Nation of 400,000 men; and the giving the Land of Promise, between the River of *Egypt* and the great River *Euphrates(s)*; which was compleated in the days of *David*; will without doubt be in time succeeded by the accomplishment of the *third*, in which all the Families of the Earth shall be blessed in his Seed.

After this Promise to *Abraham*, we find also a particular Promise to *David*, by *Nathan* the Prophet; that a King should arise from the house of *David*, whose Kingdom should be established for ever(*t*). “My Covenant will I not break, nor alter the thing that is gone out of my Lips: Once have I sworn by my Holiness, that I will not fail *David*. His Seed shall endure for ever; and his Throne as the Sun before me. It shall be established as the Moon; and as a faithful Witness in Heaven.” From these Promises it was believed by the *Jews*; that the *Messiah*, who should reign over all, was appropriated to the house of *David*; and accordingly, when *Christ* did any mighty works, they immediately applied to him the Title of the Son of *David*; this being the Person they expected to establish the Everlasting Kingdom(*u*). And

(*s*) *Gen.* xv. 18.      (*t*) *Sam.* vii. 16. *Psf.* lxxxix. 34. &c.  
 (*u*) *Mat.* ix. 2.—xx. 30, 31.—xii. 23.—xv. 22.  
 See Dr. Syke's Essay; p. 15, 16.

therefore



therefore *Hosea*, about 250 years after this Promise, speaking of the latter days, calls their King by the Name of *David*. “Afterwards shall the Children of *Israel* return, and seek *Jehovah* their God, and *David* their King; and shall fear *Jehovah* and his Goodness in the latter Days(x).” He is also called so by *Jeremiah*(y); and by *Ezekiel*(z). *Isaiah* declares, that “the *Messiah* shall come-out of the Root of *Jesse*; and a Branch shall grow-out of his Roots(a):” and *Jeremiah* says; “I will raise-up to *David* a Righteous Branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgement and justice upon the Earth: in his days *Judah* shall be saved; and *Israel* shall dwell safely: and this is his Name, whereby he shall be called; *Jehovah our Righteousness*(b): and here the *Messiah* is agreed by our own Interpreters to be the Person spoken-

(x) This the *Chaldee* Paraph. *Hos.* iii. 5. and many Rabbins explain to signify the *Messiah*; *eminenter*, as *Grotius* says.

(y) *Jer.* xxx. 9. And they shall serve the Lord their God, and *David* their King; whom I will raise-up unto them.

(z) *Ezek.* xxxiv. 23, 24. And I will set up one Shepherd over them, and he shall feed them; even my Servant *David* shall feed them, and he shall be their Shepherd; and I the Lord will be their God, and my Servant *David* shall be a Prince among them—xxxvii. 24. *David* my Servant shall be King over them: ver. 25. my Servant *David* shall be their Prince for ever.

(a) *Isaiah* xi. 10.

(b) *Jer.* xxiii. 5, 6.

of



of(c); and, agreeable to this account from *our* Prophets, we are told by the Evangelist *Luke*(d); that *Joseph* [the Husband of *Mary*] went up from *Galilee*, out of the City of *Nazareth*, into *Judæa*; unto the City of *David*, which is called *Bethlehem*; [because he was of the House and Lineage of *David*.] It appears then, by the History of *Jesus Christ* in the *New Testament*; that he was born of the Stock and Lineage of *Abraham*, and *David*: which agrees with the Description of the *Messiah* in the Prophecies of the *Old Testament*.

II. The *second* Criterion, by which I proposed to examine this question is, the *Place* of the *Messiah's* birth; and this the Prophet *Micah* foretells to be *Bethlehem*, the City of *David*(e). “But thou, *Bethlehem Ephrath*, though thou be little among the Thousands of *Judah*, yet out of Thee shall *He* come forth [or be born(f)] unto me, that is to be Ruler in *Israel*: whose

(c) Ita *Chald.* *Suscitabo Davidi Messiam*, qui justus est. Et *Talmudici* in *Bava Bathra*; cap. v. fol. 75, 76. *Messia*, de quo scriptum est: *Jer.* xxiii. 6. Idemque dicunt *Midras* in *Pf.* xx. Vid. *Synops.* 848. And *Pearson* on the Creed.

(d) *Luke* i. 68—74. also verses 54, 55. *Matt.* i. 1, &c.

(e) *Micah* v. 2.

(f) נָסָא signifies properly, *to be born*. See the Quotation to prove it, in *Bishop Chandler's Defence*, &c. p. 125. *Gen.* x. 1, 14.—xvii. 6.—xiv. 26.—xxxv. 15. *Job* i. 25. *Jud.* ix. 30. *I Chr.* ii. 53.

goings-



goings-forth have been from Everlasting(g).” The *Chaldee* Paraphr. explains this of the *Messiah* (b); and so does the *Talmud*(i), and many of the Moderns. He is King *Messias*, says *Abraham*; after *R. Solomon Jarchi*, and *R. Dav. Kimchi*; and so *Pirke Eliezer*(k).

The *Messiah* then was to be born in *Bethlehem* of *Judæa*; and this, we are told by the Evan-

(g) These words, “ whose goings-forth have been from Everlasting;” are explained in the *Targum* to mean, “ whose name was foretold of Old, from the days of the World :” *i. e.* who was prophesied-of from the Beginning; and accordingly the *Targum* on *Zech.* iv. 7. says, the *Messiah* shall be revealed, whose name is spoken, or foretold, for ages before; [Bishop *Chandler*; p. 128.] But I rather imagine the words refer to his going before our Fathers in the Wilderness, and in the Sanctuary; as mentioned by the *Psalmist*; lxviii. 7, 24, 25. “ O God, when thou wentest forth before the people; when thou didst march through the Wilderness, the Earth shook, the Heavens also dropped at the presence of God; the God of *Israel*.” And so, verse 24. “ They have seen thy goings, O God; even the goings of my God, my King, in the Sanctuary; the Singers went before, the Minstrells followed after;” &c. Upon which the *Chaldee* Paraphrase says; “ The House of *Israel* have seen the goings of thy Majesty upon the Sea, O God.” So that the goings-out from Everlasting, relate to the Visible *Jehovah*’s leading the *Israelites* in the days of Old through the *Red Sea*; and going before them in the Wilderness, in a Fire by Night, and a Cloud by Day; and tabernacling on the Sanctuary in the Cloud.

(b) *Chal.* Paraph. ex te coram me prodibit *Messias*.

(i) *Talm.* in *Chelek*.

(k) *Pirke El.* cap. iii. Vide *Poli Synops.* p. 1940.

S f f

gelist,



gelist, was the City of *Christ's* Birth. For when *Herod* demanded of the Priests and Scribes, where *Christ* should be born; they said unto him in *Bethlehem* of *Judæa*: and quoted this Text from *Micah*(*l*), to prove it. And when some of the *Jews* objected, that *Jesus* could not be the *Messiah*, because he was born in *Galilee*; they argued upon the same Principle: "hath not the Scripture said, that *Christ* cometh of the Seed of *David*; and out of the Town of *Bethlehem* (*m*)? Hence then is a *Second* capital mark, in which *Jesus* of *Nazareth* agrees to the Character of the true *Messiah*; that he was born in *Bethlehem* of *Judæa*.

III. The *Third* Criterion, by which I shall examine this Question, is the *appointed time*, in which the *Messiah* was promised to appear; which is fixed and determined by *Haggai*, *Malachi*, and *Daniel*, to be *before the Destruction of the second Temple*; and by *Jacob* to be *before the Sceptre should depart from Judah, and a Law-giver from between his Feet*.

The words of *Haggai* are these: "For thus saith the Lord; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the Heavens and the Earth, and the Sea, and the dry Land; and the Desire of all Nations shall come, and I will fill this house with Glory; saith the Lord of Hosts(*n*)."

(*l*) *Matt.* iii. 5. *Micah* v. 2. (*m*) *John* vii. 41, 42.

(*n*) *Hag.* ii. 7, 8, 9.



The *Jews*, about the time of *Christ*, interpreted this Text of the *Messiah*: and *Akibah*, chief *Rabbi* and Counsellor to *Barcochab* in *Trajan's* reign, understands it so: as the *Targum* seems to do on *Isaiab* iv. 2. And *Jarchi* confesses, that the Ancients expounded it so(o). *Abenezra* parallels it with *Malacki* iii. 1. meaning the same Person. *Grotius* says, it was understood of the *Messiah's* appearance in the second Temple; by all that lived before it's destruction(p). Nor can the words be otherwise understood; if we consider, that the Person here spoken-of is distinguished by the same Characters which are used of the *Messiah* in other parts of the Scripture; as the *Desire of all Nations*, or the Person in whom all the Nations of the Earth should be blessed; and as the Person who should bring Peace or Forgiveness.

That the *Messias* was the Person, who in the Scriptures is described as the *Desire of all Nations*, will appear from the following Texts; "Behold my Servant whom I uphold, my Elect in whom my Soul delighteth:—He shall bring forth Judgment to the Gentiles—and the Isles shall wait for his Law." *Is.* xlii. And again; "there shall be a Root of *Jesse*, which shall stand for an Ensign of the People: to it shall the Gentiles seek, and his Rest shall be glorious." *Is.* xi. 10. And of the same Person he declares; "though

(o) Bishop *Chandler*, p. 81.

(p) Remains of *Dr. Rust.*



*Israel* be not gathered, yet shall I be glorious in the Eyes of the Lord: and God said, I will give thee for a Light to the *Gentiles*; that thou mayest be my salvation unto the Ends of the Earth(*q*).” And this Saviour was the same whom they waited-for; and the *Jehovah* who was to save and redeem them(*r*); and whom the *Isles* waited-for. And this gathering of the Nations is the ἀνακεφαλαιώσει, which St. *Paul* speaks of, predestinated from the beginning; “that in the dispensation of the fulness of Times God might gather together in One, all things in *Christ*; both which are in Heaven, and which are on Earth(*s*).” From these and many other Texts it appears; that *Christ* is very properly spoken-of, as the *Desire* of all Nations; and the Person, who was to rule-over all; the *Gentiles*, as well as the *Jews*(*t*).

It appears no less clearly, that he is described as the Person who was to bring Peace or *Forgiveness*. That this was one Essential Character of the *Messiah*, appears from numberless Texts. When the new Covenant was promised to be made with the House of *Israel*; God says, “I will forgive their *Iniquity*, and I will remember their Sins no more(*u*).” And so it was under-

(*q*) *Is.* xlix. 6. *Rom.* xv. 9, 10, 11, 12, &c. *Mat.* xii. 18.

(*r*) *Is.* xlix. 23, 26. *li.* 5. *lx.* 9. (*s*) *Eph.*

i. 10. (*t*) See *Is.* xlix. 22. and *Deut.* xxxii. 43.

(*u*) *Jer.* xxxi. 34. *Heb.* viii. 8.



stood by the Apostle of the *Gentiles*: “There shall come out of *Sion* the Deliverer, and shall turn-away Ungodliness from *Jacob*; for this is my Covenant with them, when I shall take-away their Sins(*x*).” Upon this account *Isaiab* calls the *Messiah* the Prince of *Peace* (*y*); and says, “How beautiful upon the Mountains are the feet of Him that bringeth good Tidings, (*εὐαγγελιζομένε*, LXX; that preaches the Gospel) that publisheth *Peace*, that bringeth good Tidings of Good, that publisheth *Salvation*, that saith unto *Zion*, thy God (i. e. the *Jehovah Angel*) reigneth (*z*)!” Here we see, that publishing *Peace* and *Salvation* is done by the same Person: and His Covenant was to be a Covenant of *Peace*(*a*). And *Zechariab* says; “Shout, O Daughter of *Jerusalem*; behold, thy King cometh to thee—and he shall speak *Peace* unto the *Heathen*(*b*).” And therefore R. *Jose Galilæus* says, the name of *Messiah* is called *Peace*; according to that of *Isaiab*; Father, Eternal, Prince, *Peace*(*c*). And Mr. *Joseph Mede*, speaking of the Angels at the Birth of *Christ*, declaring *Peace* on Earth, *Goodwill* towards Men; says, “This is an *Apposition*, or *Exegesis*; the latter words explaining the former. *Peace* on Earth, is *Good-will* towards Men.” And this *Peace* he

(*x*) *Is.* lix. 20. *Rom.* xi. 27.      (*y*) *Is.* ix 6.      (*z*) *Is.* lii. 7.      (*a*) *Is.* liv. 10. *Ex.* xxxiv, 25.      (*b*) *Zech.* ix. 10.      (*c*) On *Micab* v. 2, 5. Bp. *Chandler*, p. 82.

explains



explains to mean *Remission* of *Sins*; and says; the *Peace* so often foretold of the *Messiah*, that he should bring; is accomplished in the New Testament, under the notion of *Forgiveness*(d).

And this Prophecy was fulfilled, when he sat daily in the Temple to give instruction (e); and to cure all manner of Diseases, by his miraculous power (f); and forgive them their Sins, upon their confessing him to be the *Messiah*: according to his promise in the Person of the *Jehovah-Angel*, when he should bring-in the *new* Covenant.

This is confirmed by *Malachi*: whose words are these—"Behold I will send my Messenger, and he shall prepare the way before me; and the Lord whom ye seek, shall suddenly come to his Temple; even the *Messenger* [or *Angel*] of the *Covenant*, whom ye delight in; behold, he shall come; saith the Lord of Hosts(g)."

The ancient *Jews* understood this Text, of the *Messiah*; and the words are very express. The *Lord* whom ye seek, the *Lord* of the *Temple*, and the *Angel* of the *Covenant*, are so peculiarly expressive; as to prove them incapable of being understood of any other Person: And this agrees with the ancient Traditions: that the second Temple should remain, till the days of the *Messiah*. And Mr. *Collins* observes; that even *Abra-*

(d) Discourse *Luke* ii. 14.

(e) *Mat.* xxv. 55.

(f) *Matt.* xx. 1, 14.

(g) *Mal.* iii. 1.



*vanel*, *Jarchi*, and *Abenefra*, explain the second Messenger to be the *Shechinah*; which was to return and give Answers by *Urim* and *Thummim*. And I shall make no scruple to join with him in this Interpretation.—This being the same Person, to whom *Jacob* addressed himself in Prayer; (b) who is so often in the Old Testament called *Elohim*, and *Jehovah*, and *Jehovah Elohim*; and is looked-upon by all the ancient Fathers to be the *Logos*: and whom all the more ancient *Jews* before them, and the strictest Followers of their Fathers' Traditions, are wont to express by the words *Shechinah*, and *Mimara*(i).

The words of Mr. *Collins* are as follows: “The *second* Messenger in *Malachi* is to come to his Temple, as Lord and Proprietor thereof; that is, to preside there, and give Oracles, and set-up the *Jewish* Forms of Worship; is to come suddenly, or immediately; is stiled the Messenger of the Covenant; that is, the *Jewish* Covenant made with *Levi* (k); the Covenant made with the Fathers: and is to purify the Sons of *Levi*, that they may duely perform the *Jewish* Ceremonies as of old(l).

(b) *Gen.* xlviii. 16.

(i) See Dr. *Allix*'s dissertation on the Angel who is called the Redeemer, sect. 2.

(k) *Mal.* ii. 4, 5, 8, 10. (l) *Ibid.* chap. iii. 3, 4.

Here



Here are some intimations; which I shall examine in the Notes, and shew to be *false* (m): but

(m) Mr. Collins explains *Matt. iii. 3, 4.* concerning the Sons of *Levi*, to signify that when the Person foretold comes, he shall purify them; that they may perform the *Jewish Ceremonies, as of old.* But the Prophet does not mention the *Jewish Ceremonies* in this place. His words are, *that they may offer to the Lord an offering in Righteousness: then shall the offering of Judah and Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord; as in the days of old, and as in former years.* Here therefore Mr. Collins has imposed either upon himself, or his Reader. For an offering in Righteousness may as well be performed with *Christian*, as with *Jewish Ceremonies*: and besides, it is not said; that they may *perform their Ceremonies, as of old*; but that their offerings may be *well-pleasing, as of old.*

I would farther observe; that an Offering in Righteousness may be understood in a general sense, as a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving; *Pf. cxvi. 17.* and mean only an Act of Worship; as it seems only to be used, *Mal. i. 2.* “In every place Incense shall be offered in my Name; and a pure Offering.” Now, according to the Law of *Moses*, this could not be; the *Jews* were only to offer at *Jerusalem.* *Deut. xii. 13, 14.* and so the offering of Incense is spoken of in the *Apocalypse v. 8.—viii. 3.*

Mr. Collins says; “we have God’s threatening, that, when this Messenger comes, he will exact Obedience to his Ordinances: from which the *Jews* have swerved.” But this relates to the Sins of the *Jews* against the Law of *Moses*, before this Messenger should come; and not at all to his giving them *Jewish Ordinances* afterwards.

He goes on as follows: “God also says on this Occasion, that he changes not; and promises, that the *Jews* shall live in their own Land.” [ver. 11, 12.] I answer, this



but, as to the main point, it seems to be *indisputable*; for these Reasons. 1st, That no other Person

this promise is conditional; as appears from the Context, from verse 8 to the 12th: and relates to the times before this Messenger should come among them. And the assurance that he changes not, has no Relation to his continuing the *Jewish* Laws among them, when he should come to his Temple; but to what immediately follows; *therefore the Sons of Jacob shall not be consumed*: which he had frequently declared before; *viz.* that, though he made a full end of *other* Nations, he would not make a full end of *them*; but correct them in measure. *Jer.* xxx. 11. and elsewhere.

“He afterwards bids them remember and keep the Law of *Moses*; [ch. iv. 4.] as the way to happiness and greatness, and the way to prevent his judgments.” But this also relates to the time of their Continuance under the *Mosaic* Law; before this *Angel* of the *Covenant* should come to his Temple: *lest, when he should come, he should smite the Earth with a Curse.* [ch. iv. 6.] whereby he declares, that he would visit them in Blessings or Curses; according as they should behave. Compare ch. iii. 10, 11, 12, with iv. 4, 6.

Mr. *Collins* concludes as follows: “All, which plainly relates to God, and to the Establishment of the *Jewish* worship; and is wholly inconsistent with the Character and Designs of *Jesus*; who came not to the Temple, to dwell there as it's Lord and Proprietor; but came to put an End to the Temple, and to destroy the very notion of the necessity of such a place, and to set-up a new Form of Worship, different from the *Jewish*: who, according to his true Character, could not be the Delight of the *Jews*; and who came to put an End to all the old Ordinances, and to the Covenant made of old with *Levi* and the Fathers, and to destroy *Jewish* Priesthood; and not to reform it, by



Person can properly be called the Lord of the Temple: and 2dly, Because the words are express; that the Lord whom they fought was the *Angel of the Covenant*, whom they delight in.

rendering it conformable to the primitive Plan of *Moses*." p. 121.—To which I answer:

1. The Prophet does not say; that he should dwell and preside in his Temple, as it's Lord and Proprietor; but only that he should *come* to his Temple. *Mal. iii. 1.*

2. The setting-up a new Form of Worship, &c. was entirely agreeable to the Promise made to our Fathers by the *Jehovah-Angel*; as we find in the Text so often quoted. *Jer. xxxi. 31, 32.* in which it appears, that the *Jewish* Priesthood was *not* to be reformed; but a *new* Covenant to be made, *not* according to the Covenant made with our Fathers. The Character and Designs of the *Jehovah-Angel* were therefore the same.

3. The Person fought, and in whom they delighted, was the same Person who would smite the Earth with a Curse; if they did not repent: [iv. 6.] and of whom it is said, Who may abide the Day of his coming? [iii. 2.] And this is entirely agreeable to the Character of the *Jehovah-Angel*, in whom they delighted; as he is described *Ex. xxxiv. 7.* as keeping mercy for thousands, and yet visiting the Iniquity of the Fathers, unto the third and fourth Generation.

If *Christ* was not this very Person; it does not appear to me, that the Temple was *His* Temple; nor that *He* was the Lord whom they fought, and in whom they delighted; [for they knew nothing of his Character or History, as having never interposed in their affairs:] but, if *Christ* be the *Angel of the Covenant*, the Person here manifestly spoken of; the whole Prophecy is clear and intelligible.

1. No



1. No other Person can properly be called the *Lord* of the *Temple*, who was capable of coming to his Temple; but the *Angel* of the *Covenant*. The *Jews* had no more reason to imagine the invisible *Jehovah* was here mean'd, who dwelleth not in Temples made with hands; or that this expression had a figurative meaning, of *God's taking them into his Favour*; than they had to interpret the same words figuratively in the Books of *Moses*: in which God is said to *meet with them*, and *commune with them* from the Mercy-seat; *Ex. xxv. 22.* which was literally performed by the *Jehovah-Angel*; the Ark being built for his Residence; to which the Temple afterwards succeeded; when the Nation came to be settled, and in opulent Circumstances; in the Reign of *Solomon*.

2. But, if this is not sufficient to determine the real Person here spoken-of; the Prophet himself has done it, in as express words as can possibly be used; by declaring the *Lord* of the *Temple*, the *Lord* whom they sought, to be the Messenger of the *Covenant*, in whom they delighted; *i. e.* the *Shechinah*, or *Word of God*. This Prophecy corroborates what was foretold by *Haggai*; and determines the Time of the *Messiah's* Advent to be while the second Temple was standing.

The Prophecies of the *Messiah's* Advent are confirmed by the ancient Prophecy of *Jacob*.



“The Sceptre shall not depart from *Judah*, and a Law-giver from between his Feet; till *Shiloh* come: and to him shall the gathering of the People be(*n*).”

The word *Shiloh*, says an Anonymous Writer, [Mr. Mann] is a modern Reading; unknown in any other part of the Scripture, or any of the old Commentators: coined by the *Jewish* Correcters of the Bible into שלה a word of no signification: whereas the LXX read שלו; that is, אשר לו; he to whom it is; he, to whom *It*, viz. the Sceptre belongs; ὃ ἀπονέται he, for whom it is reserved, as it is in the original best Edition of the LXX Version; as *Justin Martyr* long ago affirmed (*o*): and as it now stands in the *Alexandrine* MS(*p*). And what confirms this reading is the Text of *Ezek.* xxi. 27. I will overturn, overturn, overturn it [the Diadem or Crown,] and it shall be no more, untill he come, whose right it is, ὃ καὶ δυνεῖ LXX. and I will give it him. And, if this be the true meaning, it plainly refers to the King of the *Jews*; for whom the Sceptre was reserved, and to whom the People were to be gathered. Mr. *Ainsworth* explains it the Prosperer, or Safe-maker; others, the Peace-maker; from שלה: all which agree to the same Person. Another very ingenious Interpre-

(*n*) *Gen.* xlix. 10.

(*o*) *Dial. cum Tryph.* p. 348. Edit. Thirl.

(*p*) *Crit. Notes on some Passages of Scripture.*



tation is given us by the learned and judicious Dr. *Hunt*, Professor of *Arabic* at *Oxford*. He understands the true etymology of the word *Shiloh* to remain in the *Arabic* שלח, *SHALA*, *Liberavit*, *subduxit ab angustia & exitio*. According to which etymology, *Shiloh* will be *The Deliverer from Distress and Destruction*; a Title, which justly belongs to *Jesus Christ*; the Lord of Life, and Saviour of the World. And, if it should be objected to it, that the *Yod* is wanting, between the *Schin* and the *Lamed*; he observes, that, in the *Samaritan* Copy the word is written without the *Yod*: as it is likewise in one of the most ancient *Hebrew* MSS, which Dr. *Kennicot* has consulted on this Text.

I shall not here examine the shifts used by the Moderns, to avoid the force of this Text; some pretending, that the Sceptre departed from *Judab* before *Christ*, by its falling into the hands of Foreigners; which is sufficiently answered by *Cunæus* (q); who shews, that the Text only regards the Continuance of the *Jewish* State: and that *Judæa*, as separated from *Israel*, should remain a Kingdom, till the coming of the *Messiah*. On the other hand; *Abravanel* and Others suppose, the Sceptre is not yet departed from *Israel*; and *Menasseh Ben Israel*, that it is still in the hands of the Tribe of *Judab*(r).

(q) *Cunæus* de *Repub. Heb.* l. I. c. ix.

(r) *Ibid.* p. 401.



When I see my Brethren forced into such Contradictions, I cannot help thinking it much safer to trust the Interpretations of the Ancients, who were unbiassed; than the Modern glosses of men, who seem so deeply prejudiced. And it is certain, the Ancients understood this Text of the *Messiah(s)*. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* says; “He that hath Dominion shall not be taken-away from *Judah*, nor a Scribe from his Children’s Children; until the time that *Christ* come, whose the Dominion is; and Him shall the Peoples [or Nations] obey.” And the *Jerusalem Targum* says; “Kings shall not cease from the house of *Judah*, nor Doctors that teach the Law from his Children’s Children; until the time that *Christ* do come, whose Kingdom is; and all the Kings of the Earth shall be subject unto Him.” So that both the *Targums* confine the sense to this; that the Peoples, [*i. e.* both *Jews* and *Gentiles*] should gather unto and obey *Christ*; or in other words, that the Person here spoken-of should be the Prince that should reign over all; *προσδοκία ἐθνῶν*, as the *LXX* say in this place: and that this should happen, before *Judah* should cease to be a Kingdom(*t*).

(*s*) Remains of Dr. *Rust*; p. 56. which refer to the *Targum* of *Onkelos*, and *Jonathan*, and *Jerusalem*; *Ber. Rabbati*, the *Cabalists*, and *Talmud* Doctors. See also *Ainsworth* ad locum.

(*t*) See *Jos. Mede’s* VIIIth Discourse. He reads; the Sceptre shall not depart from *Judah* untill *Shiloh* come, and  
[untill]



The last Proof I shall refer-to, as particularly convincing with regard to the *Messiah's* Advent, before the Destruction of the Temple; is from the Prophecy of *Daniel*. In the second Chapter of *Daniel* he describes the Vision of *Nebuchadnezzar*; in which he beheld a great Image, whose Head was of fine Gold, and his Arms of Silver, his Belly and Thighs of Brass, his Legs of Iron, his Feet part of Iron and part of Clay(*u*). He beheld also a Stone, cut out without Hands; which smote the Image upon his Feet that were of Iron and Clay, and brake them to pieces; and afterwards became a great Mountain(*x*).

The Prophet explains this Image to signify four successive Monarchies; and mentions the *Babylonians*, then in Being, as the first. This was succeeded by the *Medo-Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans*. And the Stone cut-out without hands he explains to mean the Kingdom which God would set-up, before the End of the last Monarchy. The words are these: "And in the days

[untill] the gathering of the People be to him. Both which things did not happen till the destruction of the city by *Titus*. But the Gospel was first preached in all the World for a Witness to all Nations, according to *Mat. xxiv. 14*. "When the *Gentiles*, says Mr. *Mede*, by the preaching of "the Gospel, should be gathered to *Christ*; then shall the *Jewish* Church and Common-wealth be utterly dissolved;" a new one being first erected among the *Gentiles*.

(*u*) *Dan. ii. 32, 33.*

(*x*) ver. 35.



of these Kings or Kingdoms, shall the God of Heaven set-up a Kingdom which shall never be destroyed; and the Kingdom shall not be left to other People, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these Kingdoms; and it shall stand for ever: forasmuch as thou sawest that the Stone was cut out of the Mountain without hands, and that it brake in pieces the Iron, the Brass, the Clay, the Silver, and the Gold(y)." And the same Prophecy is repeated in the seventh Chapter; where the four *Monarchies* are represented to *Daniel* under the appearance of four *Beasts*: after which the Prophet says; I saw in the Night Visions, and behold one like the Son of Man came with the Clouds of Heaven, and came to the Ancient of Days; and they brought him near before him: and there was given to him Dominion, and Glory, and a Kingdom," &c(z).

Now all our great Rabbins agree with the *Christians*, in the Interpretation of these Texts. "Ask them what is mean'd by the Stone; and they answer, as one Man, the *Messiah*. Go-on to the Image, that the Stone smote on the Toes; and they are as unanimous in saying, it is the *Roman* Empire. Demand farther, of the Mountain; and still they agree, that it relates to the Kingdom of their *Messiah*: that shall extend it-

(y) ver. 44.

(z) *Dan.* vii. 13, 14.



self far and near, subdue all other Nations, and be itself Everlasting(a)."

From all which it appears; that the Kingdom of the *Messiah* was to begin, during the reign of the *Romans*; or *fourth* Kingdom prophesied-of by *Daniel*; agreeably to the universal Expectation, which prevailed over the whole East; as we have shewn upon the Authority of *Tacitus*, *Suetonius*, and *Josephus*.

But the most determinate Prophecy of the *Messiah* is in the ninth Chapter of the same Prophecy.

*Dan.* ix. Ver. 24. "Seventy Weeks are cut-out upon thy People, and upon thy holy City; to finish Transgression, and to make an end of Sins; to expiate Iniquity, and to bring-in everlasting Righteousness; to consummate the Vision and the Prophet, and to anoint the most Holy."

"25. Know also and understand; that, from the going-forth of the Commandment to cause to return and to rebuild *Jerusalem*, unto the Anointed the Prince, shall be seven Weeks(b)."

(a) Bishop *Chanaler*; p. 100. See his Quotations.

(b) This twenty-fifth verse seems to relate to the *second* coming of *Messiah*, as a *Prince*, and the future rebuilding of *Jerusalem*; upon *our* Restoration and Reestablishment in our Country, seven weeks before his *second* coming.

The Translation of these verses is from Sir *Isaac Newton*; as well as the Interpretation of them.



“ 26. Yet threescore and two Weeks shall *it* [viz. *Jerusalem*] return, and the Street be built, and the Wall; but in troublous times<sup>(c)</sup>: And after threescore and two Weeks, the Anointed shall be cut-off; and *it* [i. e. *Jerusalem*] shall not be His; but the People of a Prince to come shall destroy the City and the Sanctuary, &c.”

Now, the date of these *seventy* Weeks could not begin; till the *Jews* became a Body Politic, or a People and holy City; [ver. 24.] and that was when *Ezra* went-up to *Jerusalem*, and created Magistrates, in the 7th year of *Artaxerxes Longim.* 456 years before *Christ*, &c. And it must end, with the *Messiah's* Death; because [ver. 24.] the End of the Vision is joined with the Expiation of Sin, and the Consummation of a Prophet: and therefore, if these *seventy* Weeks are counted for Weeks of Years, according to the prophetic Language, a Day for a Year: [*Ezek.* iv. 6.] they expire in 490 Years, the very Year in which *Christ* died: for the year 456, in which the *Jews* became a Body Politic under *Ezra*, added to the year of *Christ* 34, in which he died, makes

(c) The building the Street and Wall in *troublous* times, distinguishes it to relate to the building them under *Nehemiah*; whereas the future Building (*seven* weeks before the *second* coming of *Christ*) will be, according to the Prophecies, in *prosperous* times. See *Is.* xlix. 22, 23, &c.



490 years. Or thus: the year of the *Julian* Per. 4257, in the 7th of *Artaxerxes*, subtracted from the 4747, in which *Christ* died, gives 490 Years; or 70 Weeks of Years.

The Computation of the 62 weeks, from the building the Street and the Wall, [ver. 26.] is no less determinate.—“*Nehemiah* came to *Jerusalem*, in the 20th year of *Artaxerxes*, while *Ezra* continued there; and found the City lying waste, and the Houses and Wall un-built(*d*): and finished the Wall, in the 25th day of the month *Elul*(*e*); in the 28th year of the King: *i. e.* in *September*, in the year of the *Jul.* Per. 4278. Count now from this year, threescore and two weeks; that is, 434 years; and the reckoning will end in *September*, in the year of the *Jul.* Per. 4712: which is the year, in which *Christ* was born; according to *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Irenæus*, &c. and this was the general Opinion, till *Dionysius Exiguus* invented the vulgar account; in which *Christ*'s Birth is placed two years later.”

But there is no necessity, in order to defend the Faith of the *Christians*, and demonstrate the Mistakes of the *Jews*; to enter into so exact a Calculation of the seventy Weeks, as is here given by Sir *Isaac Newton*: or even to dispute whether the Kingdom which the God of Heaven was to set-up, was given to the Son

(*d*) *Neb.* ii. 17.—vii. 4.

(*e*) *Neb.* vi. 15.



of Man before or after the End of the *Roman* Empire. This is all *ex abundanti*. It is sufficient merely to quote the undeniable Evidence from this Prophecy, that *Messiah* the Prince was to be cut-off *before the Destruction of the City and Sanctuary*. In this the Prophet is clear and determinate; and confirms the Prophecies already quoted from *Haggai* and *Malachi*. So that here are four of our own Prophets witnessing against Us, reckoning the Patriarch *Jacob* for one, in behalf of the *Christians*; that the Advent of the *Messias* has been long since past. And consequently, we must either give-up the Veracity of the Prophets; or agree with the *Christians*.

These Calculations plainly shew the Principles, upon which our Fathers argued in former days, to have been the same upon which the *Christians* argue now. How else could they have expected the *Messiah*, so vehemently about the time of *Vespasian*(f)? How could *Nehemiah*, one of the Doctors, who lived fifty years before *Christ* came, declare openly so long before; that the time signified by *Daniel* would in fifty years be elapsed(g)? And *Jacchiades* compute,

(f) *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, *Anna* the Prophetess, the Woman of *Samaria*, &c. and all that at *Christ's* appearance expected him, as recorded in the New Testament.

(g) *Grotius* de Ver. l. V. p. 14. Epist. *Claud. Serrav.* p. 52. where *Grotius* tells *Sarravius*, that this is to be found



compute, that the seventy weeks of *Daniel* ended in the Destruction of the second Temple(*b*); and R. *Raf* declare, that all the appointed times were then ended(*i*)? And R. *Jose*, who lived at the Destruction of the Temple by *Titus*, say, Alas, the Time of the *Messiah* is over(*k*)? And, besides these private Calculations, it is manifest that Our whole Nation computed in the same manner, from the great number of false *Messiahs* which at that time arose; and that no one pretended to that Character, till sixty-nine of *Daniel's* Weeks, by one Computation or other, were nearly expired(*l*); and after that time the People were  
ready

found in the *Talmud*, under the Title *Sanhedrim*, as he remembered; and he thought also, in *Abenada* upon *Daniel*. See *Patrick's* Translation of *Grot. de Verit.* Preface.

(*b*) *Jacchiades* ad *Dan.* ix. 14. Vid. *Grot. de Ver. lib.* V. n. 85.

(*i*) *Talmud* under the head *Sanhedrim*. Bishop *Clayton*; p. 105.

(*k*) *Grotius* quotes R. *Jacob* in *Caphor*; de *Ver.* l. V. n. 82.

(*l*) Bishop *Chandler*; p. 121, 128.

In the *Talmud* ch. *Chelek*, is found that famous saying of Rab. *Elias*; which agrees with these Calculations, [as to the time of the *Messias's* Advent, which was in or about the year of the world 4004:] that there should be 2000 years of *Inanity*, 2000 years under the *Law*, and 2000 under the *Messias*; and in One the World would be destroyed. This *Elias* is held in so much honour among  
the



ready to believe the Prophecy fulfilled by *Judas Gaulonita*, *Herod*, *Barchocab*, or any one that offered to head them. Lastly, it is worth observing; that *Manasseh Ben Israel* divides the *Jews* of those times, when the City was taken, into two Opinions.

1st, Those that believed the City was doomed to *Roman* Vengeance; and submitted to the General, as thinking *He* must be that *Prince*; who was to come before our final Destruction: and, 2dly, those that thought the *Messiah* would come *before the end of the seventy weeks*; and computed that their City and Temple could not be destroyed, before he came: and therefore expected Salvation to the last hour. Both sides took *Daniel* with them: and we need not a fuller Proof, that they understood him in this place to prophecy of the *Messiah*;" and explained the *seventy weeks*, as the *Christians* do.

It appears then from *Haggai*, *Malachi*, and *Daniel*; that the *Messiah* was to come, before the Destruction of the second Temple<sup>(m)</sup>; and the

the *Jews*; *ut effato ejus enucleando non minus studeant, quam ipsius S. Scripturæ Textui*; that they take as much pains to explain his words, as the Scripture itself. Remains of Bishop *Rust*; p. 48.

(m) See in Dr. *Prideaux* Connect. Vol. IV. part. ii. book viii. bef. *Herod* 1. several very remarkable Texts, interpreted by the ancient *Jews* of the *Messias*, agreeably to



the Time of *Christ's* Advent answers to these Prophecies. And, as all these Prophecies are determined by numerical Dates, or undisputed Facts already passed; if they are not yet fulfilled in *Christ*, or in some other Person, it is impossible they should ever be fulfilled at all.

It is of very little Consequence, in what sense our Commentators *now-a-days* may explain these Texts. Our ancient Rabbins were disinterested, and unbiaſſed by *their* prejudice; and understood them, as the *Christians* now do(*n*). But our Moderns are under subjection  
to

to the Interpretation of the *Christians*; which are now explained, by the modern *Jews*, in another manner: As *Gen.* iii. 15.—xlix. 10. *Numb.* xxiv. 17. *Is.* ix. 6, 7. —xi.—lii.—liii. *Micah* v. 11. *Pſ.* ii.—xlv.—lxxii.

(*n*) It must be observed; that the Temple in *Herod's* time was not built from it's ruins, but by little and little made new at several times: so as to be called the *same* Temple: and accordingly, the duration of the second Temple includes the whole space from *Zorobabel* to *Vespasian*. [*Talmud.* cap. ult. de Synedrio & Titulo *Jama*, & Titulo *Rosch. Haſkana*. *Grotius* de Ver. l. V. not. 89, 90.]

Accordingly we find, in *Herod's* Oration to the *Jews*, recorded by *Joſephus*; that he only proposed to supply what was wanting in the second Temple, to make it equal to *Solomon's*, and build it up to the same heighth; (because it was sixty cubits lower) without any regard to it's length or breadth: and this seems to have been the whole that is meant by *Joſephus*, [if his testimony in this is to be believed, which is questioned by *Eccius* and  
others]



to human Authority; and care not how much they strain, and distort the natural Sense of Scripture; if they can but evade the force of the *Christian* Arguments. It was not, while the *Messiah* was expected to come within the times appointed; nor for some time after the *Christian* Æra began, that they ever thought of disagreeing with the ancient Interpretation; nor till they were disconcerted by the Arguments which the *Christians* urged from the Prophecies: And then they were obliged to defend their unbelief, by a new and forced interpretation of the Texts. In so critical and suspicious a time, were the present Glosses introduced; and the Authority of the Prophet *Daniel* first began to be slighted. But neither has this been found sufficient to serve the purpose; and therefore, after much struggling in vain against the Truth, their Objections have been thoroughly canvassed and replied-to: and

others] when he says, the Foundations were taken away; meaning that those only were taken away, which were necessary to raise the building higher: and this is the opinion of the learned *Hoornbeek*; and appears the more probable, because, as *Josephus* testifies, the Temple itself which was covered-in, was but a year and a half in building; and 1000 Priests employed: and the rest of the building finished in eight years, by the hands of 11,000 workmen: whereas the Temple of *Solomon* employed 143,000 men, for seven Years. See also *Prideaux* Connect.

they



they have been obliged to pursue such a desperate Method to defend themselves, *Ne quid Religio detrimenti capiat*; as shews at once their weakness and distress: by setting-up a *dictatorial* Power, which forbids, under the Penalty of a Curse, that the Subject should be examined into. But more of this by and by.

IV. The *fourth* Criterion; by which I proposed to examine, whether *Jesus Christ* be the *Messiah*; is his Actions: upon which head I shall consider his Miracles, his Death, and his Kingdom.

I. I shall consider his *Miracles*. These were made the Criterion of his Mission, by *Christ* himself; when *John* sent two of his Disciples, saying; “Art thou he that should come, [*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, the *Messiah*] or do we look for another(*o*)?” And this was laying the Proof upon plain Fact, which every Man was able to judge of; and was the Test, which all Impostors fear. But on this Subject the *Christians* are very safe; on the one hand, by the positive Proof of the Evangelists, and the Letters of the Apostles still extant; in which they appeal to their *Miracles*, as to known Truths: and,

(*o*) *Luke* vii. 22. “Then *Jesus* answering, said unto them; Go your way, and tell *John* what things ye have seen and heard; how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the Gospel is preached.” This Text refers to *Is.* xxxv. 4, 5. See *I Cor.* xii. 10. *Heb.* ii. 4.



on the other hand, even their Enemies, *Celsus*, *Porphyry*, and *Julian*(p), have not been able to quote any hints or memoirs extant in their Times, which contradict those Accounts; which they certainly would have done, if there had been any such: “for they were all men of fine Parts, and great Reading; the first lived about 150, the second about 240, and the last 300 years after *Christ*. So that their Objections, without Proof, can be of no weight; and their very speaking of them as works of *Magic*, seems to allow, that the facts were actually performed; which is in effect to give-up the Objection: for the Question is, not how they accounted for them; but whether they were performed or not. The notion of doing Miracles by Magic, is now out of date with all Men of Sense; and reckoned among the *Aniles*

(p) *Celsus* apud *Orig.* lib. II. Ἐνομίσασθε αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν Θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ χωλὲς καὶ τυφλὲς ἐθεράπευσεν. Ye believed him to be the Son of God; because he cured the Lame and Blind. *Grot.* Annot. ad lib. II. de Verit.

*Julian*—Imo rem fatetur; cum dicit, verbis recitatis à *Cyrillo*; lib. VI. Εἰ μὴ τις ἀίεται κυλλὲς καὶ τυφλὲς ἰάσασθαι καὶ δαιμονίωντας ἐφορμίζειν ἐν Βηθσαϊδᾷ καὶ ἐν Βηθανίᾳ ταῖς πόμας, τῶν μεγίστων ἔργων εἶναι. Unless any one should think it to be a mighty work to cure the Lame and Blind, and possessed with Devils, in the Villages of *Bethsaida* and *Bethany*. *Grot.* ib.

Add to these Enemies of Christianity, that even the *Talmud* confesses the Miracles of *Christ*; [as we are informed by *Gratius*,] in Titulo *Aboda Zera*.

*Fabula:*



*Fabula*: and the Story, that *Christ's* Miracles were performed by the Name of God, which he found in the Temple, is of the same stamp: and the pretence, that we know not how they were performed, has been already answered with such force and acuteness; that I need only quote the passage, *John ix.*

A Man, who was born blind and restored to sight by *Jesus Christ*, was brought before the *Pharisees* for examination. Some said, that *Christ* was a Sinner; because he had done this Cure on the Sabbath-day: but Others answered; How can a Man, that is a Sinner, do such Miracles? The Man himself being asked, what *he* thought of him; confessed, that he believed him to be a Prophet: But he was pressed with the Argument we are now considering. We know, said they, that God spake unto *Moses*: but as to this Fellow, we know not from whence he is. To which he gave this plain satisfactory and spirited Answer—Why, herein is a marvelous thing; that ye know not from whence he is: and yet he hath opened mine Eyes. Now we know, that God heareth not Sinners; but, if a Man be a Worshipper of God, and doth his Will, *him* he heareth. Since the World began, was it not known; that any one opened the Eyes of one that was born blind. If this Man were not of God, he could do nothing, &c. I am content, that *My* opinion shall stand or fall by this one Argument.



—If it be asked, what answer the *Pharisees* made: it was the same that ever is made on *such* occasions by *Power*, when baffled by *Reason*. They answered, and said unto him; Thou wast altogether born in Sin, and dost thou teach *Us*? And they cast him out; or excommunicated him.—A *Christian* Auto de Fé would have burned him.

And here it may not be improper to rectify our false reasoning upon the xiii<sup>th</sup> of *Deuteronomy*: and lay before you the true Principle We ought to have gone upon, by observing; that, though a sign or a wonder foretold by a Prophet, might be suffered to come to pass; saying, Let us serve other Gods; and this might be a proper Trial of our Faith; not only because our Reason was capable of informing us, that such a Doctrine must be false; but also because the Accomplishment of a single Prophecy, or Miracle, ought not by any means to be set in Comparison with that series of Wonders by which the Supremacy of the Lord *Jehovah* over them, as their Lord and King, had been so often proved; and of which the Evidence still continued, by the appearance of his Angel or *Shechinah*, upon the Mercy-seat, to reveal to them his Commands: yet it would entirely overturn the use and intent of Miracles, to suppose, that God will ever suffer them to appear as Evidences of a Falsity, without controul, in matters of importance



portance to the Salvation of Men ; and in opposition to his own Revelation, where the human Understanding is unable to judge of the Truth of the Doctrine proposed : Because this would lay them under an absolute Incapacity of knowing, whether they were the works of God or no ; and of receiving that Revelation which he designed to instruct them in, and assure them of, in his name. In other Cases I see not why the Interposition of Providence is more necessary to be expected, in order to hinder us from being imposed upon, either by *real* or *pretended* Miracles ; than by any *other* kind of deceit. Had the Miracles of *Christ* therefore been performed as introductory to such Doctrines, as we knew, or were *capable* of knowing, to be *false* or *wicked* ; we should have reason to reject the Doctrine, and believe the Miracles to proceed from a bad Being : as this was not the case, but his Doctrines were pure and perfect, and discovered to Mankind the Gospel, or good News ; viz. the Completion of what had so long been promised by the Prophets to our Fathers ; we ought to consider them as the Attestations, which God gave to the People of that Age(*q*), of the divine Mission

(*q*) *Miracles* were the Attestations of God to the Age in which they were performed : but we, who live in a remote Age, have the *more sure word of Prophecy* : We want not the medium of Miracles, to convince us ; but carry our Argument



Mission of *Christ*; in like manner as he had before attested to the Mission and Doctrines of *Moses*.

As to the Credibility of Miracles in general, and the Objections that are brought against them by the Deists; I shall consider them in my *seventh* Letter.

2. A second Consideration, with regard to the Actions of *Jesus Christ*, is the setting-up the Kingdom prophesied-of by *Daniel*, *Micah*, and the rest of the Prophets.

Now no Person, that ever pretended to the *Messiahship*, except *He* alone, ever erected any Kingdom in *this World*; or ever left any Orders relative to a *future* Kingdom; or ever thought of erecting a *Spiritual* One: whereas *Christ* did not only declare himself a King; but even to this Hour the *Christians* own him as such, and look upon themselves as *his* Subjects, and deny that any Potentate hath Authority over them, in opposition to *his* Laws. And therefore the Kingdom of *Christ*, i. e. the *invisible* Church of *Christ*, is as much a real Kingdom under *him*; as ever the Kingdom of *Israel* was a Kingdom under the Visible *Jehovah*. The King of the *Christians*

ment immediately from the Accomplishment of *Prophecy*, to the Divinity of the Mission. It is at least as difficult, to those who do not see them, to prove that Miracles were ever performed; as to prove the Divinity of the Mission, without them: i. e. it is easier to prove the Completion of *Prophecy*, than the Existence of *Miracles*.

hath



hath as visibly appeared to *Them*, as *Jehovah* King of the *Jews* did to *our* Fathers; and given his Laws to *them*, as the Visible *Jehovah* did to *Moses*. And, though it was not such a Kingdom as our People at that time generally expected; yet it was such a one, as several of *our* best Commentators since have described; that is, a Kingdom of a *Spiritual* and *Intellectual* Nature (*r*): and the present *Invisibility* of their King is no more an Argument, that it is not a Kingdom, and that *he* does not govern it; than it is against the Dominion of the Visible *Jehovah* in his Absence: And this one Consideration invalidates the Claim of all other Pretenders to the Title

(*r*) Neque nos desideramus et expectamus diebus *Messiae* amplos redditus & divitias; neque ut vehamur equis, nec ut vinum bibamus inter musices genera; prout existimant pervertentes vel insatuentes intellectum: Sed Prophetæ & Justi expetiverunt dies *Messiae*, & vehemens erat desiderium eorum ad illos; qui tunc congregaturus est justos & bonum regimen atque justus Rex & magna ejus Possessio, ac distributio Sapientiæ ejus atque appropinquatio ejus ad Deum; prout dicitur, Dominus locutus est ad me, *Filius meus es, hodie genui te*. Et paulò ante ait, [*Maimon.*] *Messiae* temporibus futuros divites & pauperes, robustos & infirmos: atque hujus notæ plura apud eundem in citato loco legere est; quæ plane aliam faciem hujus Imperii nobis depingunt, quam plerique *Judæorum* facere amant. See the Notes of *Vorslius*, in *Abravanel* de Cap. Fid. p. 68. where he quotes as above from *Maimonides*, ad *Esai.* xlii. 7.—And see *Maimon.* in c. x. *Sanhedr.* And *R. Juda Bitzeel* in *Nitzeach*—“*Messias* erit Præses ac Moderator in Rebus Divinis absolute.”

of



of *Messiah*: and appropriates it to *Christ* alone. And the rejecting the *Messiah* as their King, by declaring they had no King but *Cæsar*; was the great act of Rebellion and Apostacy, for which *our* Nation has been ever since punished; by a Subjection to all the Kings of the Earth wherever they have been dispersed.

But to this it may be objected: that the Kingdom, which I speak-of, does in no proportion answer to the *Dominion* and *Glory* of the *Messiah's* Kingdom, as it is described in many Texts of the Old Testament; where it is said to extend through the whole Earth, to destroy it's Enemies, and to be carried-on with extraordinary Power and Success, and to last for ever.—This is certainly the Truth: and the reason of this *seeming* Inconsistency is this; because those Prophecies; which relate to the *Messiah's* appearance in the Clouds of Heaven, in full regal Power, when he shall come to reign *over all*, are not yet fulfilled. And nothing can more effectually expose the *Christian* Cause, than the forced Interpretation which some make use of to explain these Prophecies; as if they were already accomplished. And therefore Mr. *Joseph Mede*, one of the most learned and judicious of all the *Christian* Writers, who plainly saw of what ill consequence such Reasoning must be, says; “While we strain those plain and famous Prophecies, which relate to *Christ's second Advent*,  
to



to the *first*; the *Jews* deride us, and are more confirmed in their Infidelity." And in another place he says, with regard to this very Prophecy of *Daniel*, and the necessity of interpreting it as not yet fulfilled; "They take-away the pillar of Evangelic Faith, in the glorious Advent of *Christ*; who, neglecting the ancient Tradition of the Church, would transfer that Prophecy to any other meaning (s):" He means, to any sense in which it shall be understood as already completed.

3. But though on the one hand it must be owned, there are many of the plainest and most remarkable of the Prophecies still unfulfilled; especially those which relate to the *Messiah's* coming in the Clouds of Heaven to execute his royal Power(t); yet, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten; that there are also many others, which very evidently prove; that he must have come into the World *before* that time and passed through a series of *Afflictions*, and even *Death* itself. And it will be found impossible

(s) *Mede's Works*; p. 537. Dum enim nos clarissimas illas, de rebus in secundo *Christi* adventu, Prophetias ad primam torquemus, *Judæi* nos derisui habent; et in infidelitate suâ magis obfirmantur.

Ut omnino Fidei Evangelicæ de glorioso *Christi* adventu subductumeant; qui, vetusta Ecclesiæ traditione neglecta, Prophetiam istam alio transferre conantur. p. 532.

(t) *Dan. vii. 13.*



to account for these things, unless we consider the *Messiah* in two different Stations; the one *afflicted*, and the other *glorified*. And in this solution of the Difficulty *we* are as much concerned, as the *Christians*. I say, it is as necessary for the *Jew* to account for those Prophecies which relate to the times of his Affliction and Death, (when the Stone was first cut-out without Hands (*u*);) as it is for the *Christians* to account for the times of his Prosperity and Triumph: (when it brake in Pieces the Feet of the Image, and became a Mountain.)

And therefore it will be necessary for us both, if we are desirous to know the Truth; to consider that part of the *Messiah's* History, in which he is represented as *afflicted* and *distressed*; as well as that, in which he appears in Power and great Glory, and coming in the Clouds of Heaven.

Now the Prophets all agree; that the *Messiah* was to be born into this World. *Isaiah* says; "Unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the Government shall be upon his shoulder; and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace(*x*)."  
The *Chaldee* Paraphrast explains this of the *Messiah*. And again: "There shall come forth a Rod out of the Stem of *Jesse*, and a Branch out of his Roots(*y*); which the *Chaldee* explains, egre-

(*u*) *Dan.* ii. 34.

(*x*) *Isaiah* ix. 6.

(*y*) *Is.* xi. 1.  
*diatur*



*dietur Rex de Filiis Iſhai & Meſſias de filiis filiorum ejus germinabit*: and univerſally, the *Meſſiah* was believed to be the Seed of *David*; and formed from the womb to gather *Jacob* to *Jehovah*(z). And as to his Death; the Prophet *Daniel* declares, that after threeſcore and two weeks *Meſſiah* ſhould be cut-off: and *Iſaiab* confirms this; telling us, “He poured out his Soul unto Death; he was brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter; he made his Grave with the Wicked, and with the Rich in his Death(a).” And the *Targum* is expreſs, that the perſon here ſpoken-of by *Iſaiab* is the *Meſſiah*: For it reads, in the beginning of the Section; “Behold my Servant, the *Meſſiah*.” and there is no variation of Perſons through the whole detail; but the ſame Perſon, who deals prudently, [lii. 13.] is the righteous Servant, who by his Knowledge or Prudence juſtifies many; [liii. 11.] And not only the *Targum*, but the Doctors, with one mouth, aſſert, as they received it by Tradition from their Anceſtors; that the *Meſſiah* muſt be underſtood by God’s Servant that ſhall proſper and be axalted(b).

Now, though theſe Propheſies of the *Meſſiah*’s Death are as plain as thoſe of his Birth; and there is as great a debaſement in the *Meſſiah*’s con-

(z) *Iſ.* xlix.      (a) *Iſ.* liii.

(b) See Biſhop *Chandler*; p. 160, &c. *Allix* on the *Jewiſh Church*; ch. xxxiii.



descending to be *born into* this World, as his *dying out* of it: and indeed, no kind of dishonour in *either*; if done in obedience to *His* will, whose commands are always consistent with infinite Wisdom: Yet *our* Nation has always been so dazzled with the description of his Glory, and Dominion, and conquest over his Enemies, and Appearance in the Clouds of Heaven, and the Extent and Eternity of his Kingdom; that all his *Moral* Excellence, by which he gained his Glory, hath escaped our Notice: and we have thereby lost Sight of that great Law of Providence, which he came to teach us, both by his Doctrine and example; that it was by *Personal Merit* that he gained a *Personal Reward*. These Expectations, and the hopes of Freedom from the *Roman* Power under *Messiah* the Prince, so filled our Minds; that not even the Apostles imagined, that *Christ* was to suffer and to die, and be raised again the third Day. They knew not; that he was to be made *perfect*, by Sufferings(*c*); nor that he *ought* to suffer these things, before he should enter into his Glory; till *Christ* himself had explained it to them(*d*).

But the case is much more inexcusable in *Us*; than it was in our Fathers: For *We* are not misguided by *Their* expectations. If the full accomplishment of all the glorious Prophecies

(*c*) *Heb.* ii. 10.      (*d*) *Mat.* xvii. 22. *Mar.* ix. 31.  
—viii. 31.—x. 33. *Luke* ix. 22, 24.—xxiv. 7, 26.



of the *Messiah* triumphant, which were expected to be fulfilled at his *first* appearance, did not answer their Expectations; as it certainly *did not*: they might suspect some Error in the Calculations of the *Time*, to which Numbers or numerical Signs are greatly liable: and might expect all those Prophecies to be fulfilled, in a few years after, by some *other* Person. But, after the Ruin of the City, there was no room for any such Hopes; this being an indisputable Date, in which there could be no mistake.— And, as to the Doctrinal Difficulties, which were formerly so great a stumbling-block to our Fathers; the *Christians* have explained them to us, in a very consistent manner; and agreeably to our Scriptures. We can plainly see; that, what was then expected to be accomplished all at *once*, may be accomplished at *two* different times; and, consequently, how the *Messiah* may at first be in a servile and dejected State, and afterwards in a *glorious* and *triumphant* Kingdom; that he might become the Son of Man, by being born into this World; and suffer afflictions, and die; and yet rise again from the dead, and reign to the end of Ages. And therefore, as we are not able *à priori* to shew the Improbability of the *Christian* Scheme; nor to conceive any other, that can save the Veracity of our Prophets; we are certainly more *inexcusable* than our Fathers,



thers, if we reject the *Christian* Solution of these Difficulties: and that, for this plain Reason; because we have no other Resource. For, as to *our* common Notion, that the *Messiah* is to make his *first* Appearance in the Clouds of Heaven; it is absolutely contrary to *our* Scriptures. Our Prophets speak of him as the Son of Man; even when coming in the Clouds of Heaven. *Dan. vii. 13.* And by the same Title he was acknowledged by our Fathers, in the days of *Christ*; and consequently, *before* his coming in the Clouds, he must be *born of a Woman*. For it can never be imagined; that the Son of Man should enter into the Womb and be born, *after* his appearance in the Clouds of Heaven: because it is the very Circumstance of his having been born of a Woman, that entitles him to *that name* at his appearance(*e*).

And, farther; as he cannot properly be called the *Son of Man*, till after his *Birth*; so

(*e*) *Dan. vii. 13, 14, 27.* When *Daniel* prophesies of the *Messiah*, that he shall be cut-off; it is said, “And it [*viz. Jerusalem*] shall not be *his*.” But, when he is described as receiving a Kingdom, when he comes in the Clouds of Heaven; it is said, “And it [the Kingdom] shall not be left to *other* people;” *Dan. ii. 44.* “But it shall be an Everlasting Dominion, which shall not pass-away.” *Dan. vii. 13, 14, 27.* and, consequently, he will quit it no more. ’T is absurd therefore to imagine; that, after this, he w i leither be born or die.

neither



neither can he receive the Kingdom, and reign over all, till after his *Death*. For the Prophet *Isaiab*, speaking of *Messiah* in the name of *God*, says; “Therefore will I divide him a Portion with the Great, and he shall divide the Spoil with the Strong; because he poured-forth his Soul unto Death, and he was numbered with the Transgressors, and he bare the Sins of Many, and made Intercession for the Transgressors.” This was his proper Business, which he was to perform in the Character of the Son of Man; and for which he was exalted; according to *Isaiab*: and the *Christian* Scriptures tell us the same thing. “As the Father hath Life in *himself*; so hath he given to the Son to have Life in *himself*: and hath given him Authority to execute Judgement also; *because he is the Son of Man*(*f*).” And *St. Paul*, speaking upon the same subject, says; that, “being found in fashion *as a Man*, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto Death; even the Death of the Cross: Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him; and given him a Name, that is above every Name.” It was this Prophecy of *Isaiab*, which *St. Peter* referred-to; when he said, the Spirit of God declared by the Prophets “the Sufferings of *Christ*; and the Glory that should follow.” And it is upon the same Principle, that *Christ*

(*f*) *John* v. 27.

himself



himself says; “Ought not *Christ* to have suffered these things, and to enter into his Glory?” for his Glory was the reward of his Sufferings. It was for the suffering of Death, that he “was crowned with Glory and Honour; and all things were put in subjection under his Feet(g).” We see then, *Isaiab* agrees with the *Christians*; that the Sufferings and Death of *Christ* are so far from being any Reflection upon his Glory and Dignity, that they are the very *Foundation* of his Exaltation and Reward: and, consequently, it is contrary to the Scriptures to expect, as *we* seem to do: that he should appear in the Clouds of Heaven, and receive his Kingdom till he had gained it, as a *judicial Reward* of his Humility and Obedience; by a Life of Suffering and a voluntary Death.

And therefore, though we should admit the ingenious Interpretation of the learned Professor *Michaelis*, in his Letters to Sir *John Pringle*, lately published; that the Prophecy of *Daniel* [ix. 24, &c.] does not relate to the coming of the *Messiah* in the Flesh, but to his coming to destroy *Jerusalem*; yet, the Conclusion I have drawn from that Prophecy will continue in full force; viz. that the *Messiah* was foretold to come, before the ruin of the City. For, whether we understand by it, that the *Messiah* shall

(g) *Heb.* ii. 9. *Phil.* ii. 8, 9, 10, 11. *I Pet.* i. 11.  
*Luke* xxiv. 26, 46.



cut-off the City and Temple; [see *Michaelis* Epist. p. 138.] or, according to *Theodotion*, that he shall be cut-off himself; [as foretold in *Is. liii. 8.*] In either Case, he must not only have come into the World, before these Events, in order to become the *Son of Man*; but he must have suffered Death, according to *Isaiah*; before he could become a *King*, and act with regal Power(*b*).

From

(*b*) I shall beg leave here to observe, upon what the learned Professor has advanced in page 79; *first*, that if *Messiah* be a *proper name*, and not a mere *Appellative*, it was as proper to call him *Messiah* the *Prince*; as it is, when we take *Christ* for a proper Name, to say *Christ* was the *Messiah*. And in this sense the Prophecy agrees with the Professor's opinion; that *Messiah*, the *Prince*, [i. e. *Messiah*, coming in the Character of a *Prince*,] came to punish his rebellious People and Subjects. But if we read *Messiah* and the *Prince*; I would ask, *what* Prince does the Prophet speak-of? It is not likely, the Prince spoken of in the next Verse, as the Prince of the People who should come, should be here anticipated in an absolute manner, merely as a Prince, or the Prince; when none had been specified.

2. That *Josephus* should understand the word *Messiah* to signify *Vespasian*, [see *Michaelis*, p. 108] is highly improbable: he gives not the least intimation of any such notion, and they are distinguished in the 26th verse; one as the *Messiah*, and the other as the Prince of the People, who should come and destroy the Temple, &c. Whereas all the *Jews* with one consent agreed that the *Messiah* was not only to arise in *Judea*, but to be of the seed of *David*. *Deut. xviii. 15, 19. Mat. ii. 1, 6. John vii. 42.* and be

Z z z

a great



From hence it appears, that the Prophecies of the *Messiah's* Kingdom, denote these two distinct and very different States of it.

The

a great Prophet as *David* was, &c. See *Whiston's* Dissertation on the testimony of *Josephus*, concerning *Jesus Christ*, p. 73, 74. *Josephus's* mistake seems on the contrary to have arisen, as I have before observed, not from believing *Vespasian* to be the *Messiah*; but from believing him to be the Prince who should reign over all. Hence arose the Difficulty. He could neither account, how the *Messiah* should reign over all, and yet be cut-off; as declared by *Is. liii. 8.* nor how *Vespasian* could answer to the Prophecy, which they understood was to be accomplished by a Prince from among themselves; *οὐκ ἐξ ἑαυτῶν* according to *Jer. xxx. 21.* See note (f), Letter IV. p. 464.

3. I do not imagine the *Hebrew* word *Messiah* was ever understood by the *Jews* in an absolute Sense, to signify a King in general, or a *Roman Emperor*, any more than a *Roman Priest*; at least I humbly conceive, that *Michaelis* hath not proved any such thing; by his Quotations in p. 78: For no *Heathen* Prince is spoken-of in those Texts, except *Cyrus*; [*Is. xlv. 1.*] whom God raised-up to restore the Captivity, whom he directed in all his ways, whose hand he held to subdue Nations, and whom he calls his Shepherd, and declares that he shall do all his pleasure. *Cyrus* therefore might properly be called the *Anointed*, or *Messiah*; and yet no propriety arise from thence, in using the word for a King in general, or a *Roman Emperor*.

4. *Michaelis* objects to the reckoning the *seventy* weeks from the Commandment given to rebuild the City, &c. by *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; because it was not the *first* command to that purpose; for the *first* command was given by *Cyrus*. But, for the same reason, *Michaelis* should not have reckoned the *seventy* weeks to end with *Messiah* and the Prince



The *First* State comprehends its rise, while he should continue on Earth, gathering the children of

Prince; meaning *Vespasian*: for the *first* Advent of the *Messiah* was not synchronal with *Vespasian*.—But a more important Objection is this; that the *second* Advent of the *Messiah* to destroy *Jerusalem*, could not appear to a *Jew* to be any Advent of the *Messiah* at all.

5thly. It is true; that the *Jews* are ready enough to allow the Professor's notion, of the coming of *Christ* to destroy *Jerusalem*, to be the doctrine of the *new* Testament; But then they allow this merely, in order to oppose its divine Authority. These two Things, says Dr. *Allix*, after long Conversation with the *Jews*, I can assert for certain: 1st. That they look upon those, who imagine the second Coming of *Christ* to any other purpose than the Salvation of *Israel*; not only as men who never read the *old* Testament, or miserably corrupt it; but as men, who do not understand the *new* Testament; and are therefore not fit to be talked-to.—2dly. That the greatest obstacle to their Conversion is made by those Divines; who, from some places in the *new* Testament ill understood, relating to the *second* Coming of the *Messiah*, have endeavoured to make out a *second middle* Coming; to destroy the *Jewish* Nation under *Titus*: and pronounce, that *Christ* came a *second* Time; and will come a *third* Time. Now, as the Prophecies of the *old* Testament declare only two Advents of the *Messiah*; hence the *Jews* take a handle to reject the authority of the *new* Testament: as you may learn from the disputation of that very acute *Jew*, R. *Jacob Aben Amram*, against the *Christians*. For he understands the words of *Christ*, Mat. xxiv. 34. (*this generation shall not pass away, till all these things are fulfilled*;) in the same manner as they are interpreted by some *Christian* Divines; to signify the Coming of *Christ*



of *Jacob* and restoring the preserved of *Israel* ;  
in which state he was to be oppressed and af-  
flicted :

before the end of the generation in which he lived : From whence he concludes ; that the *Christians* have no plea to expect a *second* advent of *Christ* at this time of day : since *Christ* himself assigned so short a time for it : perhaps, while the Apostles themselves were alive. For which he quotes *Mat. xxiv. 34. Luke xxi. 32. Rev. xxii. 10—20.* And it is certain, if those Texts are fulfilled, his *second* Coming is already pass'd ; and therefore Dr. *Allix* adds, *Viderint Theologi Christiani, &c.* Let the Christian Divines look to it ; who, whilst they maintain such a false interpretation of *Christ's* Words, afford the *Jews* an occasion of beating down the hopes of the *Christians* concerning the *second* Coming of *Christ* ; and so expose the *Christian* Faith to the derision of the *Jews*. *Et sic Judæis fidem nostram imprudenter propinant deridendam & exhibilandam.* See *De Messiae duplici adventu differt. duæ advers. Judæos ; Præfat.* by P. *Allix*, D. D.

6thly, It was observed, in p. 164, that there was no necessity, in order to defend the Truth of Christianity, to enter into an exact Calculation of the seventy weeks of *Daniel* : but yet the Professor's Objection to the common Interpretation is of such a Nature ; that it should not be passed-over without Notice. He says ; “ It does not sufficiently answer the Prophet's Prayer.—He prayed for  
“ the City and People ; that *They* should return to their  
“ native Country, and their City be re-built : whereas the  
“ Answer given is about the *Messiah* ; concerning whom  
“ he neither inquired, nor spake a single Word.” p. 8.  
To this it may be replied : that the Prophet's Prayer is as fully answered ; by declaring that the City should be re-built, and last so many years, till the Death of the *Messiah*, and then be destroyed ; as if no mention had been made of  
the



licted : and this state is represented by the Prophet as a Stone cut-out without hands ; before it encreased, and became a Mountain.

The

the *Messiah* at all ; but only of what was immediately expressed in his Prayer.—And, in truth, the *Messiah's* Death, upon which the Fate and Fortune of the City and People entirely depended, was so immediately connected with their Destruction ; that it was merely, because they did not observe this very Prophecy ; and receive the Messiah, when *he came unto his own* ; or, in other Words, because they knew not the Time of their Visitation by him ; *Luke xix. 44.* of which this Prophecy was a Warning, and a very necessary and useful Warning ; that this Destruction was inflicted on them.

7thly. Another notion of the Professor's, upon which it may be proper also to remark, is this ; that the seventy Weeks of Years must be so many Years of Prosperity : which he endeavours to elucidate, in the sixty-first page, by a comparison ; which does not seem at all to come up to the point. *Judica, quæso, in exemplo : Septem mihi hebdomadam carcer, judicis sententia, decretus est ; iis finitis, peto libertatem mihi promissam ; sed tamen peto humiliter : advenit minister regius, sudore madens ; mihi nuntiat, Regi me Optimatibusque omnibus in deliciis esse ; Regemque statim decrevisse, ut septem adhuc menses in carcere maneam.* But surely, this is not considering the Question in the true Light. Did the Honour done to *Daniel* consist in the Subject-matter of the Revelation ? No, surely ; but in the Revelation itself. It was, because he was highly favoured ; that it was given him to understand, what should befall his People in the latter days : *ch. x. 14.* and the Prophecy or Subject-matter was the Truth : *ch. xi. 2.* and this could not be altered, for the better or the worse, merely to please the



The *second* State of it comprehends his coming in the Clouds of Heaven, as the Son of Man; to

the *Prophet*; but depended entirely upon the conduct of the *Nation*. Nor could it serve the purpose the Professor supposes; though it were allowed, that they were all to be Years of Happiness: for, on the one hand, the Prophecy reaches much beyond the seventy Weeks; quite to the Destruction of the City, and all the Evils which were to be poured upon the Desolate: and, on the other hand, the Prophet was well informed of the happy State of his People: when the Son of Man should appear in the Clouds. ch. ii. 44. vii. 27.—Besides, we know, from the Prophet himself; that the beginning of these Weeks was to be in troublesome Times: ch. ix. 25. and, when *Daniel* speaks of these Times in the eleventh chapter, he never hints at the Happiness of them; but rather the contrary: ch. xi. 16. and, after the Empire was translated from the *Medes* and *Persians* to the *Greeks*, it is well known, that the Successors of *Alexander* were very bad Neighbours to the *Jews*; who, lying between the Kingdoms of *Syria* and *Egypt*, were continually harraffed and oppressed by one or other of them.

Lastly; when we consider the great Uncertainty, arising from the various Readings of the Text; and the variety of Senses, put upon those various Readings by the Learned: when we consider the difference of the several Chronologies, which are used upon these points, all defended by Men of Learning; and the very little Satisfaction, or rather the great Perplexity, which the Mind feels from the many critical Niceties which are brought into the Dispute: it seems reasonable to conclude, upon the whole; that the Proof of Christianity cannot possibly depend, at this time of day, upon such precarious Evidence; how great soever its influence might have been in former days, when these things were better understood: whereas, if we trust to the  
grand



to reign over all, to the end of Ages: after the Stone shall have smitten the Image, representing the four great Monarchies, upon the Feet that were of Iron and Clay, and broken them to pieces; and shall become a great Mountain, and fill the Earth(i).—The latter part of the Prophecy therefore still remains to be fulfilled: And the circumstances, relating to it in the Old and New Testament, are exactly parallel. But, with regard to the *first* of these States, in which the *Messiah* is represented to be oppressed and afflicted; the *Jews* and *Christians* differ greatly: the *Christians* considering it as already pass'd; and compleatly fulfilled, as recorded by the Evangelists; whereas *our* Masters are neither able to explain the Texts which relate to this,

grand outlines, in which all the Commentators are agreed; they must for-ever form so impregnable a Bulwark of Christianity, that the learned Professor can have no solid ground to be so apprehensive of danger from their differing in their Interpretations from Him; *ut hic potius cuniculos timeat*: p. 11. the Outworks being entire, according to all their different and opposite Systems; and not to be undermined.

(i) *Dan. ii. 35.* Mr. *Joseph Mede*, speaking of this State says; “Hoc est Regnum illud *amplissimum*; non illud Lapidis, superstitie adhuc Monarchiarum serie, ex Monte abscissi; [nam hic præfens Regni *Christi* status est:] sed Lapidis, iisdem funditus comminutis & deletis, in Montem evasuri, atque universum impleturi Terrarum Orbem.” P. 532.

See the Agreement of the Old and New Testament, upon the Event of this Prophecy, in a Note hereafter.

State,



State, though the date of it be long ago out; nor do they endeavour at it: but seem to have given it over in despair; though, as I observed, it is as much a Part of the *Messiah's* Character and History, and as necessary therefore to be understood and explained, as the glorious State that was to follow it.

The *Christians*, on the other hand, though perfectly right in explaining many Texts to relate to the humble State of the *Messiah*; yet seem to have added many others to them, which relate purely to the time of his future Advent in a state of Glory, as a Prince. And perhaps, as to the Question, what Prophecies are already fully accomplished, and what not; it *cannot* be always determined with certainty; nor is it necessary always, that it *should* be; because a Prophecy, which was intended to relate in some particulars to the *first* Coming of *Christ*, may be more fully compleated at his *second* Coming; and a Prophecy, capable of a *figurative* sense, may in *that* sense be fulfilled, at his *first* coming; and yet more properly relate to, and be accomplished *literally*, at his *second* coming: and in many Cases it may not be certain, *which* of the Advents the words may most properly belong to.—These Questions may be the subject of Altercation between Commentators: but the Truth of *Christianity* will be no further concerned in it, than this; that  
all



all the indefensible Tenets of injudicious *Christians* are greedily caught-at by their Adversaries, as if they were the doctrines of *Christianity*; and objected-to, as such, to the disadvantage of *Christianity* itself.

But the *Jews* can by no means justly argue; that, because the *Christians* are not able to prove the Advent of *Christ* from *some* particular Texts that have been *pressed* into the Service; therefore *other* Texts are also obscure, and incapable of proving it: or that *many* Texts, taken together, may not *elucidate* one another; and make the truth appear much more clear and undeniable, than any *single* Text can do of itself alone: or that, because the Texts referred-to have not been *fully* accomplished, therefore they have never been fulfilled *in part*. The Consequence will not follow; and, if it did, it would prove too much: for, if the Prophecies relating to his *first* coming have never been fulfilled *in part*; they never can be fulfilled *at all*: the dates of his *first* coming being long since out. Such is the Danger of arguing too rashly upon the Subject. But the Truth seems to be, as Sir *Isaac Newton* has very justly observed; that “there is scarce a Prophecy, which relates to the *first* Coming of *Christ*; but what does, in *some particular* or *other*, relate to his *second* Coming(*k*). ”

(*k*) Sir *Isaac Newton* on the Proph. p. 40.



This Observation would put an end to the Errors both of the *Jews* and *Christians*, in their Interpretations of many Texts; by explaining them in such a manner, as to allow a *partial* Accomplishment, at his *first* coming, as a *Prophet*; and prepare us to expect a *full* Completion of what remains to be fulfilled of the same Prophecy, at his *second* Appearance, as a *Prince*. And; if the *Christians* would not expose themselves to *us*, by interpreting those Texts, as if they were already fulfilled, and related to the *present* state of *Christianity*; which we see and know have never yet been accomplished, and plainly relate to *Futurity*; and if, on the other hand, *our* People would not overlook those Prophecies; which declare, that the *Messiah* would *make his Soul an offering for Sin, and pour-out his Soul unto Death*; for which he was to be rewarded with Power: but consider, that it is impossible those Prophecies should be true, upon any other than *Christian* Principles: If we would throw-off our prejudices, on *both* sides; we should act much more like Philosophers, much more like Men worthy to be trusted with a divine Revelation, and probably with *much better Success* in the Interpretation of Scripture; than we ever have done yet, or can ever hope to do; while we look upon each other as Enemies and Bigots.

No



No man has spoken so well upon this Subject as Sir *Isaac Newton*. That great Philosopher and Divine had none of that little paltry Resentment, against those who differed from him in religious opinions; which generally infects the contracted and illiberal mind. He was superior to the service of any Hypothesis whatever, any farther than he was led by Reason and Conviction. He had nobler and more extensive views into Futurity, than to confine his Ambition to this World; and used the Understanding with which God had endowed him above other Men; not, in preaching up the Doctrine of *occult Qualities* in Philosophy, and *Mysteries* too sacred to be inquired into in Religion; not, in depreciating God's former Revelations, and prostituting Truth and *Christianity* to the Interest of Politicians and his own Advancement; not, in courting the Applause and Admiration of Men: but, with a noble Freedom of Thought, to the Confusion of all modern Bigots, Unbelievers, and minute Philosophers, fearlessly pursued the Paths of Truth with all his Power; as the sure Road to lead him up to the first Almighty Cause. In like manner, in the Study of Revelation, he scorned to confine his Inquiries by the Opinions of *Men*; and allowed of no Authority over his Belief, except the Word of *God* (1). And, ac-

(1) See Letter I. p. 146.



cordingly, he makes no scruple to confess; that the present state of *Christianity* is far from *perfect*: that all Nations have *corrupted* it: and that the Truth, as it is in the Scriptures, hath been long lost; according to the Prophecies, that so it would be.

The Prophets and Apostles, he informs us, have foretold; that, “as *Israel* often revolted and brake the Covenant, and upon Repentance renewed it; so there should be a *falling away* among the *Christians*, soon after the days of the Apostles: and that, in the *latter* days, God would destroy the impenitent; and make a new Covenant with his People. And the giving Ear to the Prophets, reckoning *Moses*, and the Apostles, and *Christ* himself among them; is the Sign of the *true Church*(*m*).” This is the same description of it, which St. *John* gives in the *Apocalypse*; as consisting of those, who keep the Commandments of God, and the Testimony of *Jesus Christ*(*n*).—But, where shall we find the *Christian Church*, that has made this the Rule of her Faith; and not rather followed after Philosophy, and vain Deceits; or added to the Scripture Doctrines, Articles of human Composition, after the Traditions and Commandments of Men; after the Rudiments of

(*m*) Sir *Isaac Newton* on the Prophecies; p. 13.

(*n*) Rev. xii. 27. and Sir *Isaac Newton*; p. 279.



this World, and not after *Christ* (o)?—But this great Man does at once deliver us from all these Incumbrances, and direct us into Truth; by trusting entirely to the Scriptures, (of which the modern Political and Deistical Divines have made a Nose of Wax:) which will render our Researches not only more easy, but more safe and certain.—Such a temper of Mind, such a reach of Understanding and Sagacity in the Search of Truth; such noble, liberal, and benevolent Principles, demand our strictest Attention; *Si Patriæ volumus, si Nobis vivere cari.*

Excuse me this Excursion; which flows involuntary from my Pen, when I think of Sir *Isaac Newton's* Writings; whose words I shall now quote, as an Ensign of Peace thrown-out for an amicable Congress of the *Jews* and *Christians*; or rather the preliminary Article of Reconciliation between them.

Speaking of the *Apocalypse*, he says; “ The Folly of Interpreters hath been, to *foretel* things by this Prophecy; as if God designed to make *them* Prophets. By this Rashness they have not only exposed themselves; but brought the Prophecy also into Contempt. The Design of God was much otherwise. He gave this, and the Prophecies of the Old Testament; not to gratify Men's Curiosities, by enabling *them* to foreknow things; but that, after they were

(o) *Col.* ii. 8. Letter I. p. 8, 9.



fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the *Event*; and his *own* Providence, not that of the *Interpreters*, be then manifested thereby to the World. For the Event of things predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing Argument, that the World is governed by Providence. For, “as the *Few* and *Obscure* Prophecies concerning *Christ’s first* Coming, were for the setting up the *Christian* Religion, which all Nations have since corrupted; so the *Many* and *Clear* Prophecies concerning the things to be done at *Christ’s second* Coming, are not only for predicting, but also for effecting, a Recovery of the *long-lost* Truth; and setting-up a Kingdom, wherein dwelleth Righteousness.” The Event will prove the *Apocalypse*; and this Prophecy, thus proved and understood, will open the old Prophets, and altogether make known the true Religion, and establish it.—And again, he observes; that “the Prophecies, already fulfilled, are but few and obscure; in Comparison with those main and signal Revolutions, predicted by all the Prophets; which, when they come to pass, will at once both turn Men’s Eyes upon considering the Predictions; and plainly interpret them(*p*).”

Here we see the great Necessity there is, both for the *Jews* and *Christians*, to study the Scripture Prophecies with care and diligence;

(*p*) Sir Isaac Newton; p. 251, 252.

and



and especially the *Jews*: that having mistaken the Signs of the *first* Coming of the *Messiah*, as a *Prophet*; they may be the more careful to observe the Signs of his *second* Coming, as their *King*.

But even here I must observe; that they are not to be led implicitly by the *Christian* Interpretations. For, even those Prophecies which foretell the second Coming of *Christ*; and relate to those main and signal Revolutions, which have been predicted by all the Prophets; and are very clear and numerous; have many of them been rendered *ambiguous* and *uncertain*, by the figurative Interpretations, which have been *arbitrarily imposed upon them* by the *Christians*.

Of this *Orobio* complains to *Limborch*; and not without Reason. “The Temple, says he, which was described by *Ezekiel*, will hereafter be *literally* built; and the War with *Gog* and *Magog* really happen; and *Israel*, the house of *Jacob* and *Judah*, according to the *Flesh*, shall come from all Countries and all Nations, in the Name of *Adonai*, to *Jerusalem*. This is the *Letter* and *Literal* Sense, manifestly; which you *Christians* will never admit-of: but are resolved to understand the Temple to be *mystical*, the War to be *mystical*, the *Israel* to be *mystical*; and in like manner all the literal Prophecies, except what serves your own Schemes,  
or



or at least does not thwart them: and these you allow to be understood *literally*(q)."

But, however slightly some *Christians* may pass-over these Prophecies; Sir *Isaac Newton*, with others of the learned, understand and explain them literally: not imagining they have a right to cast-away the *literal* Sense, and adopt a *figurative* one; without a good and substantial Reason. Thus, when the Prophet *Daniel* reveals to *Nebuchadnezzar* the Prophecy of the *four* great Monarchies; (which literally succeeded one another upon Earth, as he describes :) and then assures him, that these shall be succeeded by a *fifth*; which all Dominions should serve and obey: what substantial Reason, or Rule of good Criticism, will teach us to explain this *fifth* Kingdom to be merely *figurative*, and erected only in the Hearts of Men? Was there not a *literal* Theocracy over the *Jews*? Was not *Christ* supposed even by the *Christians* to be their *King*; in a more *literal* Sense than this? Did he not fight their Battles, and preside over them, and instruct them; being *literally* and *personally* present in the Tabernacle? And is it reasonable for the *Christians* to expect, at his *second* coming as their King, a less *personal* Presence and Theocracy over the whole World, now his Rule is extended to the *Gentiles*; than what was manifested formerly over

(q) *Limborch*, *Amica Collat.* p. 22.



the *Jews*? There can be no Reason for this. The return of the Theocracy being as plainly revealed to the *Christians*, as it was promised at first to the *Jews*. See *Rev.* xxi. 3. “Behold, the Tabernacle of God is with Men; and he will dwell with them, and they shall be his People; and God himself shall be with them, and be their God;” and compare it with *Lev.* xxvi. 11, 12. “I will set my Tabernacle among you, and my Soul shall not abhor you; and I will walk among you, and will be your God; and ye shall be my People(r).

Our Fathers had certainly much more reason to suspect the Prophecy of the *Messiah*’s Death to be a *mysterious* and *figurative* Prophecy only; how plainly soever the sense of the words may at present appear to the *Christians*: even though they had believed him to be the *Angel* of the *Covenant*; as it is revealed by *Malachi*. For, though they were not insensible of the great Love of him, “who had led them out of *Egypt*, and was afflicted in all their Afflictions, and whose Soul was grieved for their Miseries; who redeemed them, and carried them all the days of old;” yet it was no easy matter for them to believe, that this great and glorious Being would actually become a *Man* for their sakes; and make his Soul an offering for Sin, and suffer Pain and Death. The Infinity of such Love and Condescension could not but render the Pro-

(r) See also *Ezek.* xxxvii. 26, 27, 28. and *Rev.* xxii. 3, 4.



phesy very liable to be understood in a figurative and implicit Sense.—But the case is very different with the *Christians*. Those, who believe that the Son of God was *literally* born of a Woman, and did *literally* descend from Heaven; and that God so loved the World, as *literally* to give him up to Pain and Death for their Sakes; can never be forced by any considerations, to give-up the *literal* Sense of his return to Earth, and the Restoration of the Theocracy, and his personal Life and Reign among Men. Even the *Jews* could reason from the personal appearance of *Jehovah* to *Moses*, that he would again appear in a human Form; and so they explained *Isaiah* xxv. 9. “And it shall be said in that day, Lo! this is our God; we have waited for him, and he will save us; this is the *Lord*, [*Jehovah*,] we will rejoice and be glad in his Salvation:” Upon which *Grotius* observes, that in the *Talmud* in *Taanith* it is said; “when the time there spoken-of shall come, *Jehovah* shall be shewn as it were with the finger; *i. e.* Men shall be able to point him out to others; saying, there is *Jehovah*.”

Mr. *Joseph Mede* says; “the Presence of *Christ* in his Kingdom shall no doubt be glorious; yet I dare not so much as imagine, that it shall be a *visible* Converse on Earth: For the Kingdom of *Christ* ever hath been, and shall be a Kingdom whose Throne and Kingly Residence is in Heaven(x).” It is true, that “the Kingly Residence

(x) On the Millennium; p. 605.



shall be in Heaven," and so it was in the days of the *Theocracy*; and yet the *Angel* of the *Covenant* was personally present on the Mercy-seat, and actually conversed with *Moses*, as one Man does with another.

And, though the Interpreters of Scripture are often liable to Errors, from adhering too strictly to the literal Sense; as perhaps the *Jews* may be in this place: yet the case is no less dangerous, when they deviate from a literal Sense; without sufficient Reason for it. For, there can be no Truth gained; by running into Extremes on either Side: and how far to go, requires in many Cases a very nice judgment(s).

Let not the *Christians* therefore think, that they honour the *Messiah*; by insisting that he hath already fully accomplished those Prophecies, which will not be literally fulfilled till his second Advent: nor imagine, they are doing service to the *Christian Cause*; by depriving the *Children of Abraham according to the Flesh* of their hopes in the Promises, which are to be accomplished in the latter times; by forcing a *figurative* Sense upon *literal* Prophecies, and confining those Scriptures to mean only a *spiritual* and fi-

(s) The Judicious Reader will observe many mistakes of this kind, as well in R. *Saadias'* eighth Treatise, as in the Remarks upon it, by Dr. P. *Allix*, in a book entitled a Confutation of the hopes of the Jews, concerning the last Redemption. In which the Jew and Christian seem to be equally erroneous, upon different Texts.



*gurative Israel*, which manifestly relate to the Call and Restoration of our whole Nation, and the Return of the Theocracy, which has been so long suspended; when *Jehovah* shall again be *Their* God, and they shall be *His* People. And let not *Us*, merely to oppose the *Christians*, deny the accomplishment of those Prophecies; which, if not already accomplished, never can be: and thereby destroy the Credit of our own Prophets. Let us not reject what is plain and intelligible, and hath already come to pass; upon account of what is more obscure, and only unintelligible because not yet fulfilled; but consider, that *Philo* and *Josephus*, and all wise Men, argue from the accomplishment of some Prophecies, to the Belief of all the Rest, which are derived from the same Authority: and, if *we* do not reason in the same manner as *they* did, we lay our Scriptures open and indefensible to the Arguments of the Deists and Atheists; and particularly, to this unavoidable Consequence; that, if we do not allow of the *Christian* Scriptures, we shall not be able to defend *our own*.

Having thus considered the Question between the *Jews* and *Christians*; and shewn, that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* hath accomplished the Prophecies, in all those capital Points I have spoken-to; to wit, his *Lineage*, the *Place* of his *Birth*, the *Time* of his *Advent*, and his *Actions*; and that all the other Prophecies, not yet fulfilled, are capable of being accomplished by Him, when he appears in the Clouds of Heaven; and the whole  
of



of them incapable of accomplishment by any other Person: it seems to follow unavoidably, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*.

The few Objections which remain, and which I scarce believe any of us lay any great Stress upon; I shall now go on to answer: and

1. The different States of Affliction and Glory, in which the *Messiah* is described in our Scriptures, appear so very plain; that many of our Writers have endeavoured to account for them, by imagining there were to be Two *Messiahs*: One the Son of *Joseph*, of the Family of *Ephraim*; who is to come in a State of Humiliation and Suffering, and is to be put to Death: the Other, the Son of *David*; who is to come in a State of Triumph and Exaltation, and to bring the former one to Life again. But this is a mere Supposition, without any Proof; and serves no Purpose. For, if *Messiah*, the Son of *Joseph*, might suffer; why might not *Messiah*, the Son of *David*? This is like the Heresy of the *Christians*; that there is a *Christ*, who came down from Heaven; and is incapable of suffering, because he is the *supreme* God: and a *Christ*, capable of suffering; who did not come down from Heaven, and was born of the Virgin *Mary*: Or, in other words; that *Christ* suffered only in the human Nature. And besides, this Notion is directly contrary to the words of *Isaiah*; who informs us, that the Person who is to *suffer*, is the same with him that is to be *exalted*: It is the same, who “pours-out  
his



his Soul unto death ; that divides the Spoil with the Strong (*t*) :” the same, “ whose Visage was marred more than any Man, and his Form more than the Sons of Men ;” that was to be “ extolled and exalted (*u*) :” and to imagine One *Messiah* to go through Sufferings and Death, and an Other to be rewarded with the Spoil, is inconsistent with the Prophet’s Doctrine ; who tells us, he shall be rewarded with the *Spoil*, for that very Reason ; “ because he poured-out his Soul unto Death.”

Another Opinion is, that the *Messiah* delayed his Coming, upon Account of our Sins. But this is a contradiction to the Prophecy of *Malachi* ; who connects his Advent with terrible Denunciations of his Wrath, and describes the Wickedness of the *Jews* at that time to be very great ; and says, he is to be “ a swift Witness against the Sorcerers and Adulterers, and against false Swearers, and against those that oppress the Hireling, the Fatherless, and Widow, and turn away the Stranger from his Right(*x*).” And in the ivth Chapter he says ; that it was to prevent this Destruction and Punishment, that *Elias* was sent before him to give Notice of his Coming ; “ least he should come and smite the Earth with a Curse(*y*).” And both *Malachi* and *Zechariah* agree ; that it was by Punishment, that our Nation was to be “ tried and refined.” *Malachi*

(*t*) *Isaiah* liii. 12.

(*u*) *Isaiah* liii. 13, 14.

(*x*) *Mal.* iii. 5.

(*y*) *Mal.* iv. 6.



*chi* says, “ he shall sit as a Refiner and Purifier of Silver ; and he shall purify the Sons of *Levi*, and purge them as Gold and Silver ; that they may offer to the Lord an Offering in Righteousness(z).” And *Zechariah* says, “ I will bring the third part through the Fire ; and will refine them, as Silver is refined : and I will try them, as Gold is tried(a).” And they both agree, that this Punishment should reform and amend them. “ Then, says *Malachi*, shall the Offering of *Judah* and *Jerusalem* be pleasant unto the Lord ; as in the days of old, and as in former years.” And *Zechariah* says ; “ After this they shall call on my name, and I will hear them ; and I will say, it is my People ; and they shall say, *Jehovah* is my God.” The *Messiah* therefore did not delay his Coming, upon the Account of their Sins ; but came to reform and amend, and punish. And therefore *Grotius* observes, very justly ; “ It were most unreasonable to say, that his Coming was deferred, upon account of that very Disease, which he was particularly designed to cure.”

3. Some of our Rabbins argue, against the *Christians* ; that the *Jews* are said to be saved, in the days of the *Messiah* ; whereas, in the days

(z) *Mal.* iii. 3.

(a) *Zech.* xiii. 9. The Prophets *Malachi* and *Zechariah* are here quoted more particularly ; because they lived after the return from the seventy years’ Captivity : and therefore these Prophecies relate to some future Times.

of



of *Christ*, they were most grievously dispersed(*b*). But, in this Argument, the Times of the *first* and *second* Advents of *Christ* are not distinguished; and neither the grievous Affliction, that were to attend his first Advent, as foretold by the Prophets, taken any notice of; nor the Salvation of those that believed.

4. Some, who are convinced by their Prophecies, as well as by Tradition, that the Temple was to continue till the Days of the *Messiah*; have invented an idle Story—(in order to prevent the *Christians* from availing themselves of such an important Concession) that *Christ* was indeed *born*, under the *second* Temple; but is concealed at *Rome*, till God shall permit him to reveal himself(*c*). If this be true; it is incumbent upon the Asserters of it, to inform us, how they know that he is there; and how they come to give themselves no concern to enquire after him.

That he was so far concealed from the main body of our Nation, when he came, as not to be known by them; is undoubted. It is confessed by the Apostle *Paul*, as the Reason why they condemned him; that they knew him not, neither the voice of the Prophets that were read to them every Sabbath-Day(*d*). And *Christ*

(*b*) *Raimundus Martinus*, in his *Pugio Fidei*; Part. II. cap. ii. says; “*Judæi hic salvandi dicuntur in diebus Messiae, &c. quum in diebus Jesu gravissime dissipati sunt.*” See *Poli Synops.* 848.

(*c*) Bishop *Chandler*; p. 83.

(*d*) *Acts* xiii. 27.



himself apologizes for them in his Prayer to God, for the same Reason; as far as their Case could possibly admit of any Alleviation: “*Father*, forgive them; for they know not what they do(*e*).” And our Prophets have foretold, that it would so happen. *Isaiab* begins this Subject by saying, “Who hath believed our Report(*f*)?” And tells us the Reason, why they did not know him. It was because “they hid as it were their Faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not.” They were not ignorant; that there was a Person, in the days of *Tiberius*, who assumed the Character of the *Messiah*; and St. *John* had warned them of his Coming: and when He came, “He stretched out his hands all day to a rebellious People(*g*);” offering them the same Credentials, upon which the whole Evidence of *their own* Religious Faith was founded; i. e. *Miracles* and *Prophecy*: but they hid their Faces from him, and would not receive him: When he did the Works of the Father, they saw and owned the *Works*; but did not acknowledge the *Power*, that wrought them; but ascribed them to Magic Art(*h*). They allowed,

(*e*) *Luke* xxiii. 34. (*f*) *Isaiab* liii. 1, 3. (*g*) *Ib.* lxv. 1, 2.

(*h*) *Maimonides* de Fund. Legis, cap. viii. says; *Israelitæ non crediderunt Moysi, propter Miracula quæ patravit: quia animo credentis propter signa inesse potest suspicio; fieri posse, ut quis miraculum fecerit per incantationem aut præstigias.*—And *Vorstius* in his Notes observes; that,

C c c c

among



lowed, that Miracles might be wrought by an Impostor, in Proof of a false Religion; uncontrouled by God; and therefore destroyed the Proof for the Divinity of their own Religion. And, as they would not listen to the Voice of among the Miracles, which may be performed by the Stars or by Magic, *Albo* reckons [lib. i. c. viii.] *Elisha's* recalling the Dead to Life, his curing *Naaman's* Leprosy, the Deliverance of *Daniel* from the Lion's Den, and of *Jonah* from the Whale's Belly; upon which he says, "Nihil non nugacissimi Mortalium fingunt"—these most egregious Triflers invent any thing; to avoid being obliged to confess, that Our *Jesus* performed his Miracles by the Power, and as it were the Finger of God.

Our Rabbins therefore have very imprudently used the same Arguments against the *Christians*; which *Apuleius* and *Pliny* used against *Moses*: and the Answers to the Objections of the Heathens will be a sufficient Defence of the *Christians*. *Plin.* lib. XXV. c. i. *Apul.* Apol. ii. quoted by *Grotius*, de Verit. lib. V. c. iii. not. 12, 13. We are told by *Limborch*, speaking of *Orobio* the Jew; "hoc suo scripto contendit, etiamsi hæc miracula facta essent, tamen non debuisset nec potuisset *Judæos* *Jesum* agnoscere esse *Messiam*. p. 259. *Orobio* contended; that, though the Miracles [of *Christ*] had been actually performed, yet that the *Jews* neither could, nor ought to have received him as the *Messiah*: And, what is very strange to consider, even the *Christian* Fathers seem to have looked upon Miracles in the same light. *Athenagoras* says, we do not deny extraordinary Acts to have been performed in the name of Idols; and these, he tells us, were performed by *Dæmons*. Apol. xxv. *Middleton*; p. 77. And Mr. *Farmer* [on Miracles; p. 128.] observes, "Non est autem grande facere Signa; 'Tis no great matter to perform Miracles;" to have been the common Principle both of *Porphyry* and *Jerom*.

Miracles,



*Miracles*, confirmed by the accomplishment of *Prophecy*; with regard to a Revelation, which was agreeable to the Nature of *God*, and calculated for the Benefit of *Man*; it was necessary for God, in order to carry-on the Course of his Revelations by the *Messiah*, to gather such Persons into his Church or Kingdom; as were ready to receive him, upon proper Evidence of his Mission: and to deliver his Revelation to Posterity upon such Principles, as would at the same time support and defend his former Revelations to *Moses* and the Prophets. And therefore, when *Israel* would not be gathered to him, he was given to be a Light to the *Gentiles*; for God would not deprive the World of the Benefit of his Revelation, upon account of our Father's obstinacy. So that the whole History of the Coming of *Christ*, and our Rejecting him, and his Reception by the *Gentiles*, hath been foretold by our own Prophets; just as it hath happened. "I am sought of them that asked not for me," says *Isaiab*, in the name of the *Messiah*; "I am found of them that sought me not. I said, behold me, behold me, unto a Nation that was not called by my Name;" *Is. lxxv. 1, 2.* "I have spread-out my hands all day to a rebellious People." It appears then; that they knew him not, because they *hid their Faces* from him; and would not listen to his Doctrine, nor to the Voice of the Prophets who had foretold Him.



And, what seems above all to condemn *Us*, as without excuse, and at the same time to defend the Interpretation of the *Christians*; those very Doctrines, which *we* so vehemently oppose, have been known and allowed-of by our own ancient Commentators; as what was in Reason to be expected, according to the natural Sense of the Prophecies. So that it is plain, the *Christian* Interpretation of them is by no means a forced one; and might have been seen by us, if we had been unprejudiced; as well as it was by those that lived before us.

Dr. *Whitby*, on I. *Pet.* ii. 20. gives us the Opinion of the ancient *Jews*, as follows. “When God created the World, he held-forth his Hand under the Throne of Glory; and created the Soul of the *Messiah*, and his Company: and said to him; Wilt thou heal and redeem my Sons, after 6000 years? He answered, Yes. God said to him; If so, wilt thou bear Chastisements; to expiate their Iniquity? (according to what is written, *Is.* liii. 4. “Surely he hath borne our Grievs;”) He answered, I will; and bear them with Joy(*i*).”

R. *Moses Hadarson* says; R. *Abba* taught, that the *Messiah* was to undertake a State of Sufferings, in order to gain Life to Mankind. For he makes the *Messiah* thus address himself to God. “Lord of the World, it is with Joy

(*i*) *Cartw.* Mellif. l. I. p. 2974. *Whitby* on *Eph.* i. 4.  
that



that I undertake to suffer all this Tribulation and Anguish (beforementioned) upon this Condition; that in my days you will bring all the Dead to Life; from the first, *Adam*, to that very time—Then said the holy and blessed God, I consent: And forthwith the *Messiah* undertook all those Tribulations and Afflictions: as it is written in *Isaiab* liii.

And again R. *Moses Hadarson*, in his Comment on *Pf.* lxxii. 9. says; “R. *Natroni* asked, what doth that mean? We see not our Signs; there is no more any Prophet; neither is there among us any who knoweth how long. To whom R. *Abba* answered; this is said of that wicked Generation, who will not believe the Signs or Miracles which our holy *Messiah* will perform; but shall say of him, that he doeth these things by *Art Magic*. And that those Miracles which he shall perform are not the Miracles which were predicted of the *Messiah*. And that, as there is no Prophet to set the Truth before them; if he doth not bring some proof of the Truth of his Assertions, they will put him to Death(k).”

Here then we see our ancient Rabbins, who were unprejudiced upon this Subject, interpret the Prophets as the *Christians* do; that the *Messiah* was to suffer Affliction and Death: and that the Reason, why he should not be acknow-

(k) Bishop *Clayton's* Impartial Enquiry; p. 37, 50.  
 ledged



ledged by our Fathers, in his afflicted State, would be; because they would hide their Faces from him, and refuse his Credentials.

These Rabbins were not so scandalised at the Sufferings of the *Messiah*; as with the thoughts of his being put to death by our *own Nation*. For they not only collected from the Prophets, that he should suffer and die; but that it would be by the hands of our *Fathers*. And though there be no Text, that expressly declares this; yet, if we look into the Scriptures, we shall not be at any loss to find upon what Reasons such an Opinion was founded.

For, when *Isaiab* tells us of his Death; [ch. liii.] he gives us an Account of the Scorn and Hatred with which our Nation would receive him. He tells us, that “he was despised and rejected of *Men*:” but of *what* Men could he be rejected, but those to whom he was sent? The same, of whom the Prophet says; “*We* hid, as it were, our Faces from him; he was despised; and *We* [that is, *We Jews*] esteemed him not.” And xlix. 7. he calls him, “*Him* whom Man despiseth, whom the Nation abhorreth.” And *Zecbariab* speaks more plainly, [xii. 10.] which words R. *Hadarson*, just quoted, understood of the *Messiah*(1). “I will  
pour

(1) Referunt hæc vulgo Rabbini ad *Davidem* filium *Josephi*; quem occubaturum aiunt in prælio contra *Gog*.



pour upon the House of *David*, and upon the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, the Spirit of Grace and Supplications; and they shall look on me, whom they have pierced; and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only Son; and shall be in bitterness for him, as one that is in bitterness for his First-born; and the Land shall mourn every Family apart," &c.

Give me leave, my Dear Friend, to expostulate with you, and lay my whole Heart before you, upon this most interesting of all Subjects; and honestly confess, that I have been long affected with this heavy Charge, with which I have been so often pressed by the *Christians*, and greatly alarmed: because it appears upon Examination to be Fact; and accounts for such amazing difficulties, as upon any other Principle are insuperable.

The *Messiah*, say they, has already been manifested to your Nation; and became the Son of Man, by being born of the Family of *David*: He came unto You, his own *peculiar* People; and you received him not, but hid your Faces from him; and "denied the Holy One and the Just, and desired a Murderer to be granted unto you; and killed the Prince of Life (*m*): And for this Sin your Nation has been so long cut-

At *Hadarson* in *Gen.* xxviii. de *Messia* filio *David* intelligit. *Poli* Synopf.

(*m*) *Acts* iii. 14.



off from all the *peculiar* Blessings, which it so long enjoyed under the Lord *Jehovah*; and you are dispersed abroad, and become an Astonishment, a Proverb, and a Bye-word, among all Nations; as your Prophets foretold: nor will you ever be re-inflated in his Favour, till you acknowledge him to be your Lord and King; and submit yourselves to his Government over You.

*Elisha Levi*, look back upon the Days of Old; and the Mercies vouchsafed to our Fathers, by the hand of this *Jehovah Angel*; how often he declared his Love and tender Compassion to his peculiar people; yea, and his unchangeable Determination; that he never would forget them! “Can a Woman, says he, forget her fucking Child; that she should not have Compassion on the Son of her Womb? Yea, She *may* forget; yet *will* not I forget Thee. Behold, I have graven Thee upon the Palms of my Hands; thy Walls are continually before me(*n*).”—And, even when it was necessary to punish us; with what Love and Tendernefs does he compassionate our Sufferings! “How shall I give thee up, *Ephraim*! how shall I deliver thee, *Israel*! how shall I make Thee like *Admah*! how shall I set Thee as *Zeboim*! my Heart is turned within me, my Repentings are kindled together.” And “who

(*n*) *Is.* xlix. 15, 16.



shall have pity upon thee, O *Jerusalem*; or who shall bemoan Thee, or who shall go aside to ask how Thou doest? Thou hast forsaken me, saith *Jehovah*; thou art gone backward; therefore will I stretch out mine hand against Thee, and destroy Thee: I am weary of repenting(o)."

And is it possible; that so much *Reluctance* to punish, and so much *Tenderness*, as is every where expressed through the sacred Volume towards our once happy Nation, should on a sudden, and for no apparent Cause, entirely desert us? And we should be thus cast-off from his Favour, as we now are; and subjected to such unspeakable Ruin, as hath befallen the whole Nation; from the days of *Vespasian* and *Titus*? such as never any other Nation under the Sun has undergone: and suffered in our Sieges, and Battles, by Seditions, and Famines, and Pestilence, and Captivity, and Massacres, and Dispersion? Is it possible; that all our Hopes in his indulgent Care and Love, should thus at once be blasted, for *no* Cause; and all his Promises to our Fathers fail us; and the bright and glorious Prospect, the Birthright of our Nation, that in the Seed of *Abraham* all the Families of the Earth should be blessed, thus end in eternal *Darkness* and *Oblivion*?—Surely, if some amazing Act of Wickedness has not

(o) *Hos.* xi. 8. *Jer.* xv. 5.



been perpetrated by *our* whole Nation(*p*), beyond what *other* Nations have committed; our present State and Condition, for so many Ages, is unaccountable; and our Scriptures incredible. And, what is the most melancholy of all Reflections; as we are ignorant of the Cause of these Afflictions(*q*), so we see no End of them; nor any means how to avert them.

In

(*p*) The Death of *Christ* was an Act of the whole Nation of the *Jews*; represented by their great Council: approved-of not only by the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, but by all that came from different parts to celebrate the Pass-over. And, after *Christ*'s Resurrection, when the Apostles preached to the *Jews*, wherever dispersed; they were so far from condemning what the Senate at *Jerusalem* had done, that they persecuted his followers in all their Cities. Nor was their City destroyed; till the *Christian* Doctrine had been preached, and rejected by the whole Nation: as *Christ* foretold. *Matt.* xxiv. 14. And the Modern *Jews* seem to approve of what their Fathers did. See *Limborch.* *Amica Collat.* p. 462, 497.

(*q*) As to what *Josephus* says; that the City in no wise deserved to be oppressed with such misery, save only that it fostered and bred such impious persons, as wrought it's overthrow; it shews, that he was at a loss to account for it. *Limborch* says; “Eo tempore & quatuor ad minimum post sæcula, minima quæ unquam in gente *Judæa* Idololatriæ suspicio; & maximus pro lege *Mosaica* fuit Zelus. Deus, contra promissa, contra morem suum, populum suum dilectum [cui parem in tota ejus Historia non reperimus] ruina castigavit & obruit; cum nulla erat publica a lege sua defectio, nulla Nationis Apostasia, nullum eximium crimen Rebellionis toti Genti imputandum!



In this dejected and forlorn State, sifted into all Nations and become the Scorn of all Mankind, there yet remains *One* Hope, and *but One*, that can support and relieve us; and this we have been blindly endeavouring, for many Ages, to invalidate and overturn; I mean the Authenticity and Truth of the *Christian* Scriptures. If *Jesus* be indeed the *Visible Jehovah*, and *Angel* of the *Covenant*, whom our Fathers have *slain*; we want no farther Explanation, how we have offended him: or in what manner we may expect a Deliverance from our Evils. For He, whose Mercy and Loving-kindness have so often pardoned the Sins of our Fathers; delivering them from the Distresses, with which he visited and chastised them; who could pray for his Enemies, in the midst of his Sufferings, apologizing for their *wilful* Ignorance; and use that Power, which he gained by his patient Resignation under Afflictions, for the Salvation of those by whom he was distressed and slain: He will without doubt *return to us also*, in

dum! Si enim tollat Vir Doctiss. *Messiae* rejectionem; nullum reperiet, nullum assignare poterit. *Limb.* p. 519, 530, 541. It is certain, there never was a time; when Idolatry was less in fashion among them: it was not therefore the Supreme *Invisible Jehovah*, but the *Visible Jehovah*, [who was their Lord and King in a somewhat different sense] whom our Fathers rejected: and it is no less certain at present, with regard to the Supreme *Invisible Jehovah*; that we are not at all in Rebellion against him.



Mercy and Loving-kindness; and will *save us*, according to his Promise, even in the *latter days* (*r*); if we turn to him with Sorrow and Repentance, as to the *Angel* of the *Covenant* whom we delight in; and be obedient to his Voice. For that such a Time will come, when we shall be again received into his Favour; we are well assured, both by the Prophecies of the *Jews* and *Christians* (*s*).

St. *Paul*, in his Epistle to the *Romans*, speaks very plainly to this purpose; when he warns them “not to be ignorant of this *Mystery*, (least they should be wise in their own Conceits;) that Blindness *in part* hath happened to *Israel*, until the fulness of the *Gentiles* be come in; and

(*r*) *Deut.* iv. 30. “When thou art in Tribulation, and all these things are come upon you, even in the *latter days*; if thou turn to *Jehovah* thy God, and shalt be obedient to his Voice, he will not forsake thee.” And, *Hosea* iii. 4. “For the Children of *Israel* shall abide many days without a King, &c. afterward shall the Children of *Israel* return, and seek the Lord their God, and *David* their King: and shall fear the Lord and his Goodness in the *latter days*. See *Isaiah* ii. 2. *Micah* iv. 1.

(*s*) We firmly and constantly believe, that God has divided the prefixed Time of our Slavery into two parts; the one of which is the Time appointed for our Conversion, and the other is the Term or End. And whenever the former of these Terms is compleated, the latter takes place. And if we were already converted, we should immediately expect our Redemption, and the Accomplishment of that Prophecy of the Law, *Deut.* xxx. 1—10. R. *Saadia's* Treatise 8, § 2.

so,



so, if they abide not in unbelief, *all Israel* shall be saved(*t*).” And this shall be, when God shall turn-away Ungodliness from *Jacob*; and take away [the punishment of] their Sins.” And St. *Luke* tells us, that “*Jerusalem* should be trodden down of the *Gentiles*; until the time of the *Gentiles* be fulfilled(*u*):” which, St. *John* informs us, will be forty and two Months: or 1260 Years(*x*).

But the Events, which according to the Prophecies are to precede this happy Time are not yet fulfilled. *Christ* hath not yet the uttermost parts of the Earth for his Possession(*y*). All People, Nations, and Languages, do not serve him(*z*). The Lord is not King over all the Earth; nor do all the Nations worship before him(*a*). For, as *Brerewood* observes, if we divide the Known World into *thirty* Parts; the

(*t*) *Rom.* xi. 25, &c. Not a little remnant only, as at the *first* Coming of *Christ*; but ALL *Israel*: And to this purpose, read *Is.* liv. 8, 9, 10.—lix. 20, 21.—lx. 14, 18, 19, 20.—lxi. 7, 8.—lxii. 4, 12.—lxv. 19.—lxvi. 22.—*Jer.* xxxii. 39, 40. *Ezek.* xxxiv. 28, 29.—xxxvii. 25, 26, 27.—xxxix. 28, 29. *Amos* ix. 15. Now scarce any of these Texts can be applied to the Captivity of *Babylon*. See *Whitby*. End of the Appendix to the xi. ch. of the Epistle to the *Romans*.

(*u*) *Luke* xxi. 24. (*x*) *Rev.* xi. 2. (*y*) *Pf.* ii. 8.  
(*z*) *Dan.* vii. 14, 27. (*a*) *Micah* v. 4. *Zech.* xiv. 9.  
*Pf.* lxii. 8.—lxxxvi. 9.—xlvii. 2, 7.

*Christian*



*Christian* Part will be only as *five*, the *Mahometans* as *six*, and the *Idolaters* as *nineteen*(*b*).

There are many other particulars foretold in the *Jewish*, and more explicitly in the *Christian* Scriptures, which are to precede our Conversion; some of which will promote it; and, if we trust to the Interpretation of the *Christians*, there are some Events, which have happened in these latter Ages; which intimate, that the ancient Prophecies are hastening to an Accomplishment: particularly, the great Diminution in the Power of the *Roman* Church; and the present Wars of the *Turkish* Empire.

For the *Christians* inform us, that the *Apocalypse* was written about the year of *Christ* XC; and that the number of the Beast, [666] who was to arise out of the Sea(*c*), relates to the number of Years, from that time, till the Rise of the Pope as a *temporal* Prince; the same tyrannical Power, which is spoken-of by *Daniel*(*d*). And it must be confessed; that the *Time* agrees to an exactness: for the Popes first became *temporal* Princes, by obtaining the Exarchate of *Ravenna*, in the year of *Christ* 756; and the year of *Christ* 90, added to the number 666, ends in that year; *i. e.* 756. And this power, as

(*b*) *Brerewood*, ch. xiv.

(*c*) *Rev.* xiii. 18.

(*d*) *Dan.* vii. 24, 25. *Sir Isaac Newton*, p. 250.

they



they observe, as prophesied-of both by *Daniel* and *St. John*, was to last 1260 years(e).

As this Prophecy threatens *Rome* (f); so another Prophecy is interpreted to bear as hard upon the *European* Kingdoms in general. The Interpreters universally allow the Beast to signify *Rome*; and we find it foretold, *Rev.* xvii. 12. that the ten Kings, into which the *Roman* Empire was divided, should receive Power as Kings, one Hour with the Beast: *μία ὥραν*. and *Bugenhagenius* observes, that this must signify duration of Time: *i. e.* they shall receive the Power of Kings one Season, or Portion of Time, with the Beast. Now these *ten* Kings, or Kingdoms, are explained by the *Christians* to comprehend 1. The *Vandals* and *Alans*, in *Spain* and *Afric*. 2. The *Suevians*, in *Spain*. 3. The *Visigoths*, in *France* and *Catalonia*. 4. *Alans*, in *Gaul*. 5. *Burgundians*. 6. *Franks*, in *Gaul*. 7. *Britons*. 8. *Huns*, in *Hungary*. 9. *Lombards*. 10. *Ravenna*(g). Upon this Prophecy, so explained, an

(e) *Dan.* xii. 7. *Rev.* xi. 2, 3.—xii 6, 14.

(f) *Rev.* xvii. 18.

(g) See Sir *Isaac Newton* on the Prophecies; and *Machiavel*. Mr. *Mann* supposes the Temporal Power of the Pope to have begun in 727: when, under Pope *Gregory* the II<sup>d</sup>, the *Italians* rebell'd against *Leo*, upon the affair of Images. If so, the *Apocalypse* might be written in the year 61, 3 or 4 years before the Epistles of *St. Peter* were written; and Sir *Isaac Newton*'s opinion may be true, that they quote from the *Apocalypse*.

Anony-



Anonymous Writer adds ; “ Let it be seriously remembered ; that, as the *ten* Kings rose together with the Beast ; so by this Interpretation they are to sink with *him*. When therefore this great *Babylon*, this Mother of Whoredoms and Abominations of the Earth, [which, in St. *John*’s time, reigned over the Kings of the Earth(*b*),] shall be brought to utter Destruction ; *that* Event will be a Signal to all the *ten* Kingdoms, into which the old *Roman* Empire was divided ; that their Destruction is approaching(*i*).” This ought certainly to be a warning to the *Protestant* Churches ; who have received so many remarkable Blessings from the hand of God, since their Reformation from the Church of *Rome* ; to pursue the same Principles, upon which they separated ; and to admit no one Article into their Establishments, but what they can prove from Scripture ; and not be tempted by empty Shadows, and the Appearance of Political and Secular Advantages to oppose the Truth : For it is very remarkable, and interesting for them to consider ; that, in the Prophecy of *Daniel*, which is parallel to that of St. *John*, these *ten Kingdoms* are represented as the *Toes of the Image* ; and their Destruction is in like manner foretold : “ Then was the Iron, the Clay, the Brass, the

(*b*) *Rev.* xvii. 5, 18.

(*i*) Notes on several Texts, p. 144. Supposed to be written by Mr. *Mann*.



Silver and the Gold, broken to pieces *together*; and became like the Chaff of the Summer Threshing-floor, and the Wind carried them away, that no place was found for them: and the Stone [that is, the Kingdom of the *Messiah* which smote the Image] became a great Mountain; and filled the Earth(*k*).” By which it seems to look, as if the *Protestant* Churches would not make that advance in the purity of their Religion; which might reasonably be expected from the State of Prosperity, and the great Advantages, they have for many years enjoyed(*l*).

I do

(*k*) *Dan.* ii. 35.

(*l*) The Author of an Essay on the Beauty of the Divine Economy, speaking of the particular Happiness, in this respect, of

“*England*, bound-in with the triumphant Sea.” the Bulwark of the Reformation, a safe retreat from the Tyranny of *Rome*, a Land of Learning and its Parent Liberty: observes—that it is the Duty of Men, so guarded from the Dangers that attend the search of Truth in other Countries, so blessed with Time and Opportunity, so adorned with Learning and the free use of Scripture; to study the Word of God with Assiduity and Faithfulness: not as though they were *perfect* but searching after farther Improvement; confessing ingenuously, in the true Spirit of Protestantism, which disclaims *Infallibility*; that if the Church of *England* should, in every Doctrine it advances, “justify itself; its own Mouth would condemn it: and, if it should say, I am perfect; it would prove it perverse.” *Job* ix. 20. It is the business of its Members, says that

E e e

Writer,



I do not pretend to defend or object-to these Interpretations: but only observe; that, if they were actually *true*, we should probably see the very same Face of things, both in the *Popish* and *Protestant* Churches, which we now do: *viz.* an utter Disregard to the Truth, when in competition with political Views and worldly Interests; and a Determination to maintain the Errors of their several Establishments, and the Traditions, and Doctrines, and Commandments of *Men*; though in many particulars they *know* them to be *false*: and an open and obstinate Opposition to the Word of *God*, their own Consciences, and that Power, which must infallibly overwhelm and crush them, if they continue to resist it: for the Kingdom of the *Messiah* is described in the *Christian* Scriptures, as a Stone; on which whosoever falls, shall be broken, and on whomsoever it shall fall, it will grind him to

Writer, to bring it to perfection by Degrees: as they themselves improve in the Knowledge of the Gospel.—And if we press-on to farther Knowledge and Improvement; and are not grown *too Wise* and *Politick* to amend our Errors, when we find them; and to separate the Chaff from the Corn: This Conduct, carried-on with Purity of Heart and Manners, and a Love and Charity to one another, will be the most rational Thanksgiving to God for his Mercies; and the most likely way, according to all human Appearance, of propagating the *Christian* Religion. This was written in the Year 1759; before the Rise of the present Disputes about Subscription to Articles.

pow-



powder(*m*), and *Daniel* says, it shall break and consume all these Kingdoms ; [among which are included the *Ten* already specified] and it shall stand for ever (*n*): and the Iron, and the Clay, of which the Kingdoms are composed, are again foretold to be broken in pieces, in the next verse. And this is all agreeable to the Conduct of Providence, in like Circumstances, at other times. *Luke* viii. 18.—xix. 26. and particularly, see *Prov.* i. 24, &c.

Another Event, which the *Christian* Scriptures speak-of to be accomplished before our Conversion, according to the Interpretation of the *Christians* ; is the Ruin of the *Turkish* Empire. They tell us ; that the four Kingdoms of the *Turks*, who were seated on the *Euphrates*, and were invaded by *Hulacu* in 1258 ; and then made war upon the *Greek* Empire, and took *Constantinople* in 1453 ; are prophesied-of in the *Revelation* : and were to reign an Hour, and a Day, and a Month, and a Year (*o*) : which, according to the Prophetic Language explained in

(*m*) *Mat.* xxi. 44.

(*n*) *Dan.* ii. 44.

(*o*) *Rev.* ix. 4. Or if this Period begins when they first began to slay or to make their Conquests (the word in the *Apoc.* ix. 15. being ἡτοιμασμενοι ἵνα ἀποκτείνωσι) about the year 1300, it will end in the latter end of the 17th century ; at which time they were beaten by Prince *Eugene* in 1697 ; and they have, I think, made no progress since. (In a letter from an unknown hand).



*Ezekiel*(*p*), amounts to 391 years; and will therefore be completed in about *seventy* years: and that *he* [*viz.* the *Turk*] shall plant the Tabernacle of his Palace [after the loss of *Constantinople*] between the Seas of the glorious holy Mountain, [in *Judæa*] according to the Prophet *Daniel*; yet shall he come to an End, and none shall help him(*q*). These are the Computations of the *Christians*; and, how true they may be, Time will discover. The Event, as Sir *Isaac Newton* observes, will prove the Prophecy.

But one thing we may be certain of; that, before our Happiness as a temporal State, and the return of the Theocracy, *Elias* will come and restore all things(*r*); for that Prophecy of *Malachi* does not seem to be compleatly and literally fulfilled, in the person of *John* the Baptist: who, though *He* came in the Power and Spirit of *Elias*; was not *Elias* himself in Person, as it seems to be the sense of the Prophet(*s*):  
for

(*p*) *Ezek.* iv. 6.

(*q*) *Dan.* xi. 45. xii. 1. *Ezek.* xxxviii. xxxix. *Zech.* xii. 13, 14. &c.

(*r*) *Mal.* iv. 5, 6.

(*s*) *Mal.* iv. 5. *Matt.* xvii. 11.—xi. 14.

*Christ* calls *John* the Baptist *Elias*; because he came in the Spirit and Power of *Elias*; *Luke* i. 17. It was customary, among the *Jews*, to call similar Characters by one and the same Name. As when *Christ* is called *David*; and the Son of *Josiah* is called *Shallum*: *Jer.* xxii. 11. And so *Rome* is called *Babylon*, in the New Testament.

Many



for we expect that what has happened at the *first* coming of the *Messiah* shall be more fully and literally compleated at his *second* coming; and the blindness shall continue among the *Jews*, no longer than the *Christian Church* of the *Gentiles* shall be compleated (*t*); and the receiving *Us* again into Favour shall be like Life from the Dead to *both* of us (*u*). And the Nations shall then see clearly, that *our* Peculiarity was intended for the general Benefit of all Mankind.

Then shall be fulfilled all those great and glorious Promises recorded in the Prophets, which relate to the *Messiah's* Advent as a *Prince*; that the *Gentiles* shall come to *our* Light, and Kings to the brightness of *our* Rising; and Nations, which have not known *us*, shall run unto *us*: because the Lord shall glorify *us* (*x*). And the Sons of Strangers shall build-up thy Walls; and their Kings shall minister unto Thee (*y*). For, thus saith the Lord: Behold, I will lift-up my Hand to the *Gentiles*; and set-up my Stan-

Many of the *Christian* Fathers believed, that *Elias* would come in the *Body*; as he came by *John* in *Virtue* and *Spirit*. But whether this Prophecy will be fulfilled, according to the exact Letter, is uncertain; thus much we know of the matter, that *Elias* did not die; and therefore may possibly appear again in Person, before any Resurrection from the Dead.

(*t*) See *Whitby*; Append. to the Epist. to the *Romans*, p. 100, &c.

(*u*) *Rom.* xi. 15. *Ezra* ix. 9. *Ezek.* xxxvii.

(*x*) *Isaiah* lx. 3.—lv. 5. (*y*) *Isaiah* lx. 10.

dard



dard to my People: and they shall bring thy Sons in their Arms, and thy Daughters shall be carried upon their shoulders: and Kings shall be thy nursing Fathers, and Queens thy nursing Mothers; they shall bow down to Thee with their Face upon the Earth, and lick up the Dust of thy Feet; and thou shalt know, that I am the Lord: for They shall not be ashamed, that wait for Me(z). And I will feed them that oppress thee with their own Flesh; and they shall be drunken with their own Blood, as with sweet Wine; and all Flesh shall know, that I the Lord [*Jehovah*] am thy Saviour, thy Redeemer, the mighty One of *Jacob*(a)."

Excuse me, my Dear *Elisha*; if in a matter in which I think not only my Self, but my whole Nation, so greatly interested, I appear to indulge my Hope to an Excess; for it is the only Hope remaining to us: and, if it be well founded, as I am fully convinced it is; it is a Great and a Glorious one.

Sir *Isaac Newton* observes; that, in the days of the ancient Prophets, when the ten Tribes were led into Captivity, the *Israelites* expected a double return; and that at the first the *Jews* should build a new Temple, inferior to *Solomon's*; until the time of that Age should be fulfilled: and afterwards, that they should return from all places of their Captivity; and build *Jerusalem*

(z) *Isaiab* xlix. 22, 23.

(a) *Ibid.* ver. 26.



and the Temple gloriously(*b*). And, to express the Glory and Excellence of this City, it is figuratively said to be built of precious Stones. *Jerusalem* shall be built up with Sapphires and Emeralds, &c. And, if we look into the *Apocalypse* of St. *John*; we shall see by the Description which he there gives of the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, the holy City, the Lamb's Wife(*c*); &c. that

(*b*) Sir *Isaac Newton* on the Prophecies; p. 132. *Tobit* xiv. 4, 5, 6. *Tob.* xiii. 13, 16, 17. *Is.* liv. 12.

This rebuilding of *Jerusalem* and the waste Places of *Judah*, is predicted in *Mic.* vii. 11. *Amos* ix. 11, 14. *Ezek.* xxxvi. 33, 35, 36, 38. *Is.* liv. 3, 11, 12.—lv. 12.—lxi. 4.—lxv. 18, 21, 22. *Tobit* xiv. 5. And the Return from Captivity, and Coming of the *Messiah* and his Kingdom, are described in *Dan.* vii. *Rev.* xix. *Acts* i. 7, 8. *Matt.* xxiv. *Joel* iii. *Ezek.* xxxvi.—xxxvii. *Is.* lx.—lxii.—lxiii.—lxv.—lxvi. &c. Sir *Isaac Newton*; p. 134.

(*c*) In the Old Testament, the *Jewish* Nation is said to be married to *Jehovah*; *Jer.* xxxi. 32. and the Metaphor is used in many other Places. Hence her Idolatry is considered as *Adultery* and *Whoredom*; and she is called an *Harlot*, *Jer.* iii. 8, 9.—xiii. 27. *Ezek.* xvi. 15. *Jer.* iii. 6. and God is divorced from her; *Is.* xlii. 4, 5. And as *Judah* and *Jerusalem* are accounted *Harlots* (by reason of their Pollution), under the Names of *Aholab* and *Aholiab*; *Ezek.* xxiii. so the polluted *Christian* Church is represented as an *Harlot*, in the *Apocalypse*. But yet God hath not cast-away his People; but, upon their Return, is ready to receive them again. “Turn, O backsliding Children; saith the Lord: for I am Married unto you.” *Is.* lxii. 4. 5. *Jer.* iii. 14. And again; “Cry in the Ears of *Jerusalem*, Thus saith the Lord; I remember the Kind-



that he speaks of the same Times with *Tobit* and *Isaiab*. For he says; “the Building of the Wall was of *Jasper*, and the City of pure Gold;” &c. And he foretells such a glorious Change of Affairs to be brought about, relative to the future Happiness of our Nation; as he wants words to express. And there can be no greater Proof, that the *Christian* Religion is the Completion of the *Jewish* Revelation; and that the Love of God still continues to our Nation; than the whole Scheme and Conduct of this Prophecy of the *Apocalypse*: which was revealed to *Jesus Christ* by the Supreme *Jehovah*; that he might signify it to St. *John*, by his Angel, *Rev. i. 1.*

Kindness of thy Youth; and the Love of thine *Espousals*,” &c. *Jer. iii. 2.*—And though the Branches of the Olive Tree are broken-off; yet the Root and the Stock remain, into which the *Christian* Church is grafted; and when *Jerusalem* shall seek *Jehovah* in the Latter Days, they shall be grafted into the same Stock; and become the Lamb’s *Bride*; espoused to one and the same *Husband*, the *Visible Jehovah*; in the same Sense in which the *Jews* say, that *Moses* espoused *Israel* to God in Mount *Sinai*; when he made them enter into Covenant with him: [*Deverim Rabba*; c. vii. col. 4.] and in which St. *Paul* says to the *Corinthian* Converts, I have espoused you to one Husband; that I may present you as a chaste Virgin to *Christ*.—And, *Rev. xxi.* this *Bride* is plainly described to be the holy City and the New *Jerusalem*, and as a Bride adorned with her Jewels, to be married to the Lord; as our Nation is described, *Is. lxi. 10.*—*lxii. 4, 5.* See *Whitby* on the *Millennium*; p. 734.

and



and is entirely ordered according to the ancient *Jewish* Worship, upon the Feast of the seventh Month; and carried-on by Figures bearing Analogy, and relative to our Customs and Histories. Twelve thousand Saints of every Tribe of *Israel*, are described as sealed with the Seal of the Living God; *Rev. vii. 4.* “ And the *Tabernacle* of God [where the Angel *Jehovah* appeared in the Cloud] *shall be with Men*; and the *Shechinah*, or Glory of God, *shall lighten it*; and the *Lamb*, that is *Christ*, the *Angel Jehovah*, who used to appear in *Shechinah* to our Fathers, *shall be the Light thereof*(*d*). And he will dwell with them, and they shall be his People; and God shall wipe-away all Tears from their Eyes, and there shall be no more Death, neither Sorrow, nor Crying; neither shall there be any more Pain; and the *New Jerusalem* shall descend from Heaven, prepared as a Bride adorned for her Husband; and the Kings of the Earth shall bring their Glory and Honour into it; and the Saints of God shall reign with *Christ* a thousand Years, even for ever and ever(*e*).

(*d*) *Rev. xxi. 3, 23.*

(*e*) Compare *Daniel vii.* with *Apocalyps. xx.*

*Dan. vii. 9.* I beheld till  
the *Thrones* were placed.

*Apoc. xx. 4.* And I saw  
*Thrones*; and they sat upon  
them.

10. the *Judgement* was set.  
22. and *Judgement* was gi-  
ven to the *Saints* of the Most  
High: and the *Saints* pos-  
sessed the Kingdom.

And *Judgement* was given  
unto *them*; and *they*, [the  
*Saints*] lived and reigned  
with *Christ* 1000 years.

F f f f

And



And the Song of *Moses*, which particularly prophesied of these Times, shall be joined with the Song of the *Lamb*(*f*). And all the ancient Prophecies shall be compleated, and the *Angel* of the *Covenant* shall be our Saviour, the Lord our Righteousness; the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords(*g*). In short, although our Sun hath been darkened, and our Moon hath not given her Light, for many Ages; yet the Day-spring from on high shall again visit us(*b*), and the Sun of Righteousness arise with healing in his Wings(*i*). For in my Wrath I smote thee, [says the Lord;] but in Favour have I had mercy on thee(*k*).—But all this Hope depends upon that *one* Truth, which we are so averse to acknowledge; that *Jesus* is the *Christ*: without which all is Darkness and Despair. For, as I have shewn, and I repeat it again; if the Prophecies are not *already* so far fulfilled in him *in part*, as to prove him to be the *Messiah*; they can *never* be fulfilled *at all*.

I can see no way to avoid the force of these Arguments: for, whether we allow or deny the Authenticity of the *Christian* Scriptures, our Case will be equally desperate: because *They* are not only confirmed by stronger Evidence than *Ours*, but actually support them. And to insist that our Prophecies are true, and consequently

(*f*) *Rev.* xv. 3.

(*g*) *Ib.* xix. 16.

(*b*) *Luke* i. 78.

(*i*) *Mal.* iv. 2.

(*k*) *Isaiah* lx. 10.



must come to pass within the appointed Times, which are now elapsed; and then deny the Authority of the only History in the World, that is able, or even pretends to account for their Completion, and support their Credit; must appear to every sensible Man to be in effect a plain Confession, that the *Jewish* System is now become indefensible. In short; if we allow *their* Scriptures, we allow the *Messiah* to be come and *Jesus* to be the Person; and if we deny *their* Scriptures, we are not able to defend *our own*.

And there can be no greater proof, that our Rabbins themselves are sensible of this; than the methods they have taken to prevent an Examination into the Merits of the *Cause*, by forbidding us under an *Anathema*, to compute the Times<sup>(1)</sup>. This may indeed keep our People for some time from discovering the Truth, and going-over to *Christianity*; and, as a *Protestant* Divine once said in Praise of the Inquisition, it may serve to *keep all things Tight*. But this effect will reach no farther than the *Synagogue*. It will neither prevent the Calculations of the *Christians* or *Mahometans*; nor defend us against the Conclusion which they both agree in; that

(1) Non decet autem aliquem supputare tempus, aut curiose elicere ex Versibus: cognoscetur Tempus adventus ejus, [sc. *Messiae*,] quemadmodum dixere Sapientes. *Cel. m. in cap. Chelek*; Illaquæetur animus supputantium tempus. *Abra vanel de Cap. Fid. p. 7.*



the *Messiah's* Advent is already past; which we dare not inquire into.

And indeed, if this be the Case with Us; if we deny the Evidence of *Miracles*, by supposing them to be performed by *Magic*; and the Evidence of *Prophecies*, by denying them to be examined into, and their Completion ascertained; what Proof of *our own* Religion will remain?

These Arguments, out of many, I have chosen to lay before You; because they have been most convincing to Me, and seem fully to determine the Question between us; as being the least liable to cavil and uncertainty. Among those which I have omitted, in proof of *Christianity* in general, the Evidence which arises from the perpetual Correspondence between the two Revelations is not the least: the one of which is a plain Counter-part to the other: One, the *Seal* or *Type*; the Other, the *Impression* or *Anti-type*; answering to it in a thousand Particulars: But, this internal Proof will not be apprehended, in its full force, by those who are not satisfied of the Divine Original of both. But, when the Divinity of them is once acknowledged, there appears in almost every Chapter of the New Testament, some Hint, Reference, or Doctrine; which either explains, or fulfills, or farther continues, or confirms, the same Scheme of Providence, which we learn from *our own* Scriptures,  
in



in a consistent, intelligible, and very extraordinary manner.

And, what appears to me another wonderful Confirmation of this Divine Original of the *Christian* Scriptures, of the *internal* Kind, (for I shall say nothing here of the *external* Proof;) is this: that the more the World improves in the Knowledge of Truth, especially with regard to the Nature and Attributes of *God*, and the moral Excellence of *Man*, beyond what was known in former Days; the more they find their Sentiments agree with those Writings: which seems a plain Proof, to an *unprejudiced* Mind; that no Man or Set of Men in the World, were capable of composing them; without a divine Revelation. On the contrary; had they been of human Composition, we should have found them full of the Errors of some old Philosophy; and incapable of standing the Examination of the present Ages. Whereas, in truth, we find no System of Religion or Morals, that is worth regarding; any farther than it agrees with these Books, and will stand the Examination of that Test.

When I consider all these Arguments; and find the End, for which the Divine Power interposes in the Affairs of Men, is the performance of that Promise of Blessedness, which *Jehovah* first obscurely hinted to *Adam*, and afterwards more explicitly gave to *Abraham*, that in his  
Seed



Seed should all the Families of the Earth be blessed; and afterwards still more plainly by *Isaiab*; that the *Messiah*, or *Christ*, should become a Light to the *Gentiles*, and the Salvation of God to the End of the Earth; extending the Blessing from *our* Nation, to the whole race of Man; and from this World, to the next; thereby bringing all good Men, whose Principles shall fit them to promote Virtue and Happiness, into an eternal Kingdom that shall never be destroyed; under the Care and Government of the *Jehovah Angel*, who created us, and hath taken care of us from the Beginning.—When I farther consider; that the *Christian* Scheme, by which all this is to be brought about, is not only perfectly agreeable to our highest Notions of the infinite Goodness of the great Lord and Governor of the Universe; but entirely conformable to the usual Method of his Providence, in renewing his Revelations to Mankind, as the Evidence and good Effects of former Revelations failed, through length of Time, and the Carelessness and Wickedness of the World:—When I see all these Truths join to complete One plain, rational and consistent Design, agreeable to our own Scriptures, and our most sanguine hopes in the Promises made to our Fathers, I think myself not only obliged to confess my Belief, that *Jesus* is the *Christ*; but also to produce my Proofs, and explain to my Friends the Strength of the  
Evi-



Evidence, by which I have been convinced, and the Reasons of so great a Change of my Sentiments: that if my present Opinion be agreeable to Truth, it may prevail with others; and if not, that I may at least appear to them not to have acted rashly or precipitately; and may give an opportunity to those who disapprove of my Conduct, to examine my Arguments; and either allow of them, or convince me of their weakness.

I know, that I have already forfeited the Esteem of many worthy and good Men, whom I highly Love and Honour; and have exposed myself to much reproach and ill-will from Others, who have never wished me well. And, on the other hand, I am well aware; that I shall not approve myself to the *Christians*, whose cause I plead; and whose Scriptures I believe. But you, my Friend, who are so thoroughly acquainted with my Principles, and the uprightness of my Intentions, from my Youth; and have known me in Prosperity and Adversity, always the same; will continue to Love the Man; whatever you may think of his Opinions in Matters of Religion.

I am, &c.



Evidence, by which I have been convinced, and the Reasons of so great a Change of my Sentiments: that if my present Opinion be agreeable to Truth, it may prevail with others; and if not, that I may at least appear to them not to have acted rashly or precipitately; and may give an opportunity to those who disapprove of my Conduct, to examine my Arguments; and either

## Directions to the Binder.

Contents of Letters I, II, III, IV, to follow Title and Preface; Contents of Letters V, VI, VII, VIII, to follow the Title of the Second Volume; and the Index, to be last.

other hand, I am well aware; that I shall not approve myself to the Christian, whose cause I fight; and whose Scriptures I believe. But you, my Friend, who are so thoroughly acquainted with my Principles, and the uprightness of my Intentions, from my Youth; and have known me in Persecution and Adversity, always the same; will continue to Love the Man; whatever you may think of his Opinions in Matters of Religion.

I am, Sir,









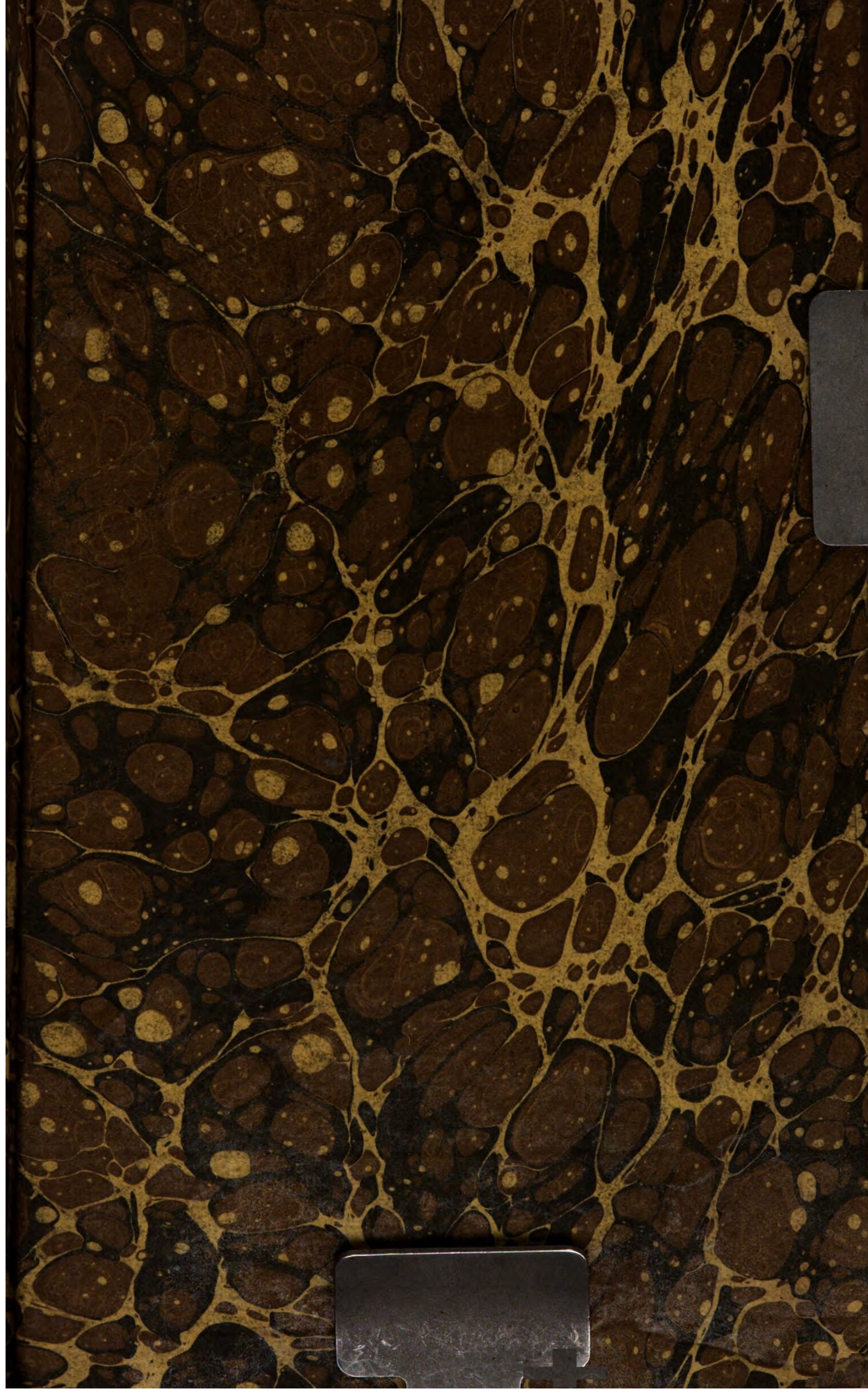


















Taylor, Henry, 1711-1785

The Apology Of Benjamin Ben Mordecai To His Friends, For Embracing  
Christianity In Seven Letters To Elisha Levi, Merchant, of Amsterdam.  
Together With An Eighth Letter, On The Generation Of Jesus Christ. With  
Notes And Illustrations  
Bd.: 1

London 1784

Polem. 2679-1

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10776802-9